

The American Historical Review

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July, 1939

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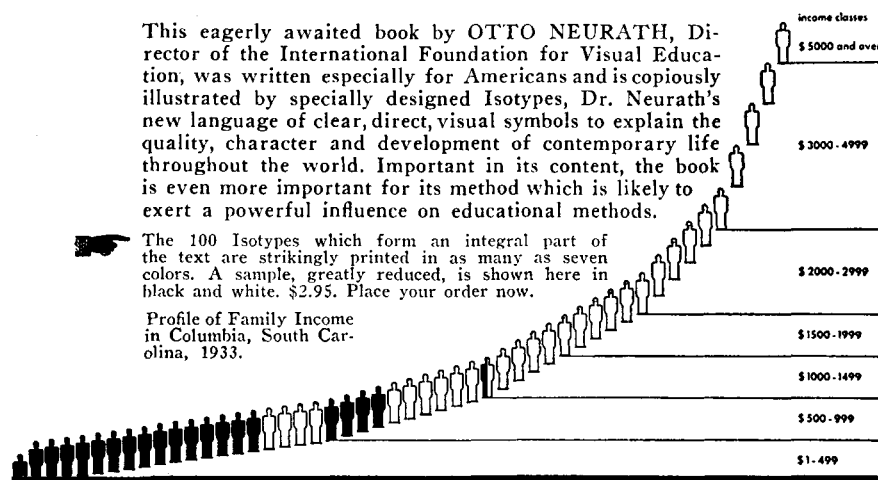
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The American Historical Review

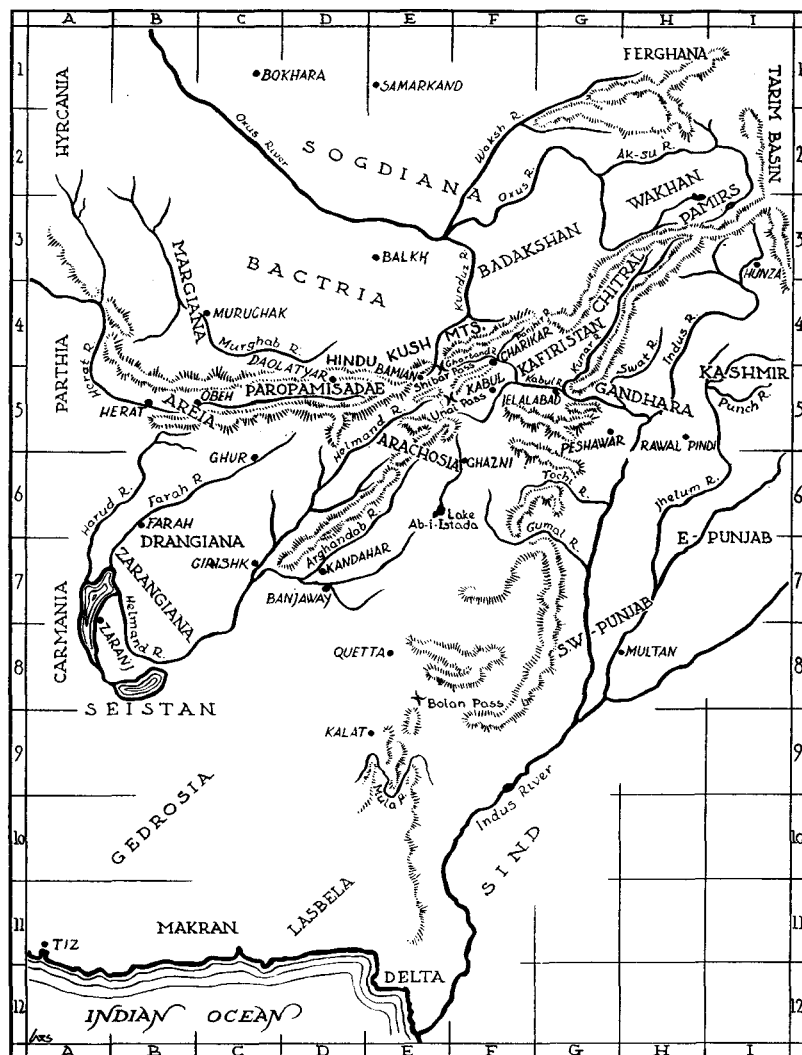
THE INDO-PARTHIAN FRONTIER

A STUDY IN POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

THE purpose of this article is to employ the literary and numismatic evidence to define more accurately and clearly than has hitherto been done the successive boundaries of the political units which occupied the area east of Parthia and between the Hindu Kush Mountains and the Indus valley from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D.¹ The principal Greek and Roman sources for the geography of the area during that period are Strabo, Pliny, Arrian, and Ptolemy, as well as Isidor of Charax and the anonymous author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*. The major units which they recognize represent in both name and outline a fusion of the Achemenid organization with that installed by Alexander the Great. Apparently the short-lived Maurya Empire which succeeded Alexander did little to change this organization, and the coinages of the subsequent Yavana and Saka kingdoms reflect the persistence of these same nuclei of power. Still later, Chinese envoys and Arab geographers down to the Middle Ages describe the political and commercial centers of this area in terms which for the most part identify them as essentially the units inherited or organized by Alexander.

In the Indus basin Alexander left five principal political units. In the south the territory from the junction of the Punjab rivers with the Indus as far as the sea, in general comprising Sind and the delta, fell within the satrapy of Pithon. In the north the client kingdom of Abhisares occupied lower Kashmir and the Indus valley above the Punjab. East of the Jhelum River, in eastern Punjab, lay the kingdom of Poros. The satrapy of Philip was made up of western Punjab, the

¹ In other studies I hope to discuss the mint areas of Parthian Iran, basing my conclusions on evidence gathered in Iran during 1935 as a fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation; the nomad invasions of northeastern Iran, with a review of the literature on the subject of the Yueh-chi and the Sakai; and the political history of Parthian Iran in terms of geographical and economic factors.



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districts of Rawal Pindi east of the Indus and Peshawar on the west bank, which together comprised Gandhara, and the valley of the Kabul River below the Kunar River. Adjoining on the north lay the satrapy of Nikanor, made up of the Kunar and Swat river valleys with an extension eastward to an undefined border with Gandhara; this unit represents the area personally traversed and conquered by Alexander upon his entry into India, and too little attention has been paid to its wealth, high culture, and the strategic importance of this alternate route from Kabul City to the Indus.²

Within a very short period after their establishment the kingdom of Eastern Punjab (the kingdom of Poros) and Gandhara (the satrapy of Philip) absorbed the other three units. Though the latter retained their identities as important nuclei throughout the succeeding periods, East-

² For this campaign of Alexander see Arrian, *Anabasis*, IV, 23-28. The route has been described by Sir Thomas Holdich (*The Gates of India* [London, 1910], pp. 100-101, 113, 129) as the oldest and probably the best trodden between Kabul and the Punjab; he points also to its strategic importance and to the high culture of the Swat valley. For the satrapies see E. R. Bevan, "Alexander the Great", *Cambridge History of India*, I (New York, 1922), 351-52.

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and of Soter Megas.			

ern Punjab and Gandhara stand out as paramount, and this relationship can be traced with little interruption from the Achaemenid period to the Middle Ages.

On the west between the Hindu Kush and the Indian Ocean the Greek and Roman sources recognize three units as bordering India: the Paropamisadae, Arachosia, and Gedrosia. North of these units and of the Hindu Kush lay Bactria, extending east only to the Kunduz River valley, which was considered a source of the Oxus; Sogdiana, extending south to include all of Badakshan; and, northeast of Sogdiana, the country of the highland Sakai, that is, Ferghana, the Pamirs, and the watershed between the Indus and Tarim basins.³ Insofar as they can be checked, the earlier sources agree with Ptolemy in locating the northwestern corner of India at the head of the Panjhir valley, just south of the headwaters of the eastern tributary of the Kunduz. This places within India all of the Kunar basin and the lower Kabul valley, from a point between Kabul and Jelalabad. Strabo and Pliny, however, locate the Indian frontier in the Kabul valley rather below Jelalabad.⁴ A great deal of error has crept into our interpretation of the geography and history of the Kabul valley through a rather general failure to appreciate the sense in which the Hellenistic writers used the name Kophen. It does not represent the length of the Kabul River of our day but rather the united stream of the Kabul and the Kunar rivers below Jelalabad.⁵ The district of Kabul, the Kabulistan of the early Arab geographers, from above Jelalabad to the Ghorband valley was attached to, but not an integral part of, the Paropamisadae. In all periods it appears as a passageway rather than as a center of power.

References to the Paropamisadae in our earlier Western sources are

³ Strabo, XV, 2, 9; Ptolemy, *Geographia*, VI, 11-13, 18-21, and maps nos. 7, 9-10. I have used the edition of Ptolemy prepared by Edward Luther Stevenson (New York, 1932) and have benefited from the commentary of André Berthelot, *L'Asie ancienne centrale et sud-orientale, d'après Ptolémée* (Paris, 1930).

⁴ Strabo, XI, 8, 9; Pliny, *Natural History*, VI, 21, 6-8.

⁵ Arrian, *Anab.*, IV, 22, 5-7. Coming from Bactria on his way to India Alexander arrived at Alexandria, near Charikar. While there he appointed Turiaspes satrap of "the country of the Paropamisadae and of the rest as far as to the river Kophen". From Alexandria he proceeded to Nikaia, which is generally identified as Kabul City. From Nikaia he "advanced toward the Kophen", at the same time sending heralds to the Indian princes of the Indus ordering them to come to meet him. "Here he divided the army"; this can apply only to his point of contact with the princes on the Kophen, which must have been some distance below Kabul. It is clear that the name Kophen cannot be applied to any stream much above the junction of the Kunar (the Choes of Arrian and the Koa of Ptolemy) with the Kabul, and so this junction seems to provide the basis for a new name. There are repeated instances in this same area of the application of a new name to the union of two streams.

vague, indicating little more than that it included the head of the Kabul valley, but they do not permit an assumption that it extended east of the valley to include parts of Kafiristan. Ptolemy includes in it the eastern limits of the satrapy of Turiaspes, that is, the Ghorband, Panjhir, and Kabul City districts. Westward it included Bamian and the Herat River valley down to about midway between Daolatyar and Obeh, where it bordered on Areia. Because of the paucity of reference in the Hellenistic literature, present-day historians have failed to see in it a political center of great significance. Bamian, however, is recognized as one of the great Buddhist centers of the Middle East. As late as the nineteenth century what has been described as the best and the most generally used route from the Oxus to Kabul passed through Bamian and thence either by the easy Shibar Pass into the Ghorband valley or south into the upper Helmand River valley and so, by the Unai Pass, to Kabul. The early Arab geographers described another route from the Oxus through Bamian to Ghazni and thence south to the great port of Tiz in Makran, or Gedrosia. It appears, indeed, that the only route known to the Arabs between Herat and Kabul passed through Bamian. Other routes, practicable for both commerce and war, connected Bamian through the Herat and Farah river valleys with the Ghur country and Seistan. It was this strategic position that led the Arabs to call Bamian "the trade port of Khorasan and the treasure house of Sind [the India of the Arabs]."

Bamian City was variously described as half the size of and as large as Balkh itself, and the kingdom included many large cities scattered over central Afghanistan from the Kabul valley to the borders of Herat. Besides its commercial importance and the fertility of its valleys, it was said to possess important gold and silver mines. The cultural affiliations of Bamian with India were remarked in the Middle Ages, and this tradition has persisted into modern times. The military importance of the Bamian route is attested by its repeated use during the Afghan civil wars, by the passage of Nadir Shah with an army that included artillery, and by the recorded conquests of Bamian by the Khwarzim shahs and the Mongols. For our present purposes the value of these Arab records lies in the evidence that the kingdom of Bamian of the early Middle Ages corresponded closely with the limits of the Paropamisadae described by Ptolemy, and at times it extended to the eastern limits of the satrapy of this name.⁶

⁶ Ptolemy, VI, 18; Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 416-18, 432; Holdich, pp. 217-18, 259-68, 438; cf. pp. 205, 211-24.

The Arachosia of Ptolemy comprised the upper and middle Helmand River valley, the districts around Ghazni and Lake Ab-i-Istada, and probably included the passes of the Gumal and Tochi rivers to the Indus plain. The boundary on this eastern side cannot be accurately traced, but it appears to have extended to the plain. The border on the south, that is, with Gedrosia, ran only a little to the south of the lake, which is called by Ptolemy "the Lake of Arachosia". The Kandahar district, which is so commonly identified with Arachosia by present-day writers, is included by Ptolemy within the borders of Gedrosia. Strabo, Pliny, Arrian, and Isidor of Charax confirm in a general way this concentration of Arachosia toward Ghazni rather than toward Kandahar.⁷

Further support is offered by the sources of the early Islamic period. The Kandahar district, called by the Arabs Rukhkhaj, with its capital, Banjaway, formed part of what they called Sijistan. This unit represented an expansion of northern Gedrosia, the Sakastan of Isidor, for Zarangiana and Drangiana were included. Above Sijistan lay the Arab Zabulistan, which comprised the highland country of the middle and upper Helmand valley, the upper reaches of the Kandahar rivers, and the district of Ghazni, with which the name Zabulistan was most closely connected. North of Zabulistan on the frontiers of Bamian lay the Arab Kabulistan.⁸

It is clear that the Arachosia of our Greek and Roman sources and the Zabulistan of the early Arabs represent essentially the same area

⁷ For Arachosia see Ptolemy, VI, 20. Strabo (XI, 8, 9) and Pliny (VI, 21, 6-8), in a series of measured distances between Alexandria of Areia (Herat) and India, ignore the existence of any center near Kandahar and pass from Prophthasia of Drangiana (Farah) directly to what they call the city of Arachosia, and both sets of figures (each is correct when properly interpreted) locate this city near Lake Ab-i-Istada. If the route of Isidor is properly traced (*Parthian Stations*, edited by Wilfrid H. Schoff [Philadelphia, 1914], sect. 16-19), his "metropolis of Arachosia" lies north of the lake; the rest of Arachosia, with Ghazni as the center, lay outside the Parthian border. Arrian (*Anab.*, III, 25, 8; III, 28, 1) shows Alexander arriving in the district of Zarangiana (Zaranj on the Seistan lake) and proceeding thence "toward Bactria and against Bessus, reducing on the way the Drangians and Gadrosians". Drangiana extended east from Farah to include Girishk; Gedrosia is here shown extending north of Kandahar.

⁸ Le Strange, pp. 334, 344-49; cf. Holdich, pp. 136, 474, 512. Kandahar is largely ignored by the early Arab geographers, and the important routes left it to one side. The Bolan Pass to the Indus does not appear to have been used in antiquity, and the Mula River Pass was connected with Kalat rather than Kandahar. The idea of a great natural highway of ancient trade and migration passing between Kandahar and the Indus, which has been accepted as historical, is largely a creation of British strategists of the nineteenth century.

and the same center of power within the area. Both groups of sources are very vague with respect to the eastern border of the area, but the Arabs clearly grasped the significance of the Gumal and Tochi passes to the Indus, which served both Ghazni and the lake country. Ghazni was called "the port of India", and from it the great Sultan Mahmud raided India and destroyed the Arab power in Multan. The strategic position of Ghazni in relation to both the Oxus and the Indus suggests that the Indian country south of Peshawar and southeast to Multan, extreme southwestern Punjab, was closely related to Arachosia proper and, given a leader in Ghazni, became dependent upon it.

The eastern frontiers of Gedrosia, the remaining political unit bordering India on the west, must have included the present districts of Kandahar, Quetta, Kalat, and Lasbela. As in the case of Arachosia, Ptolemy shows the eastern boundary running close to the Indus plain. The character and importance of Gedrosia have been badly misjudged through casual interpretation of the accounts portraying the sufferings of the Macedonian army in this region. Arrian's account is explicit in the statements that it was the coast which was desert and that Alexander deliberately chose the more difficult route in order to maintain contact with the fleet.⁹ The early Arab sources present a more detailed and balanced picture, and this receives corroboration from accounts by more recent travelers. The Makran of the Arabs extended north from the sea only to Turan, which corresponds to the Kalat district; on the east, like the earlier Gedrosia, it closely approached the Indus mouth and extended on the west to the borders of Carmania or Kerman. It possessed many fertile valleys in an advanced stage of cultivation and many wealthy cities near the coast and in the interior. Commerce was the principal source of wealth: by sea to the great port of Tiz, thence overland to India; by caravan from Syria and Bagdad; and, as has already been noted, by caravan from Khorasan and the Oxus valley by way of Ghazni. Tiz replaced Hormuz in the tenth century as the port of Sijistan. This picture of Makran, or southern Gedrosia, in the Middle Ages is supported by numerous and extensive ancient sites which have been reported by travelers of the present day. On the basis of evidence as opposed to surmise the route to and from India by way of southern Gedrosia must be recognized as one of the most significant of the

⁹ *Anab.*, VI, 23-24. Note that Alexander was so impressed with the possibilities of the country of the Oreitai, in a general sense the Lasbela district, that he inaugurated a foundation there which he expected would become a large city (*ibid.*, VI, 21.5; Quintus Curtius, IX, 10).

ancient Middle East, equalled only, if at all, by that through the Kabul valley.¹⁰

Though it will never be possible to localize accurately by means of their coinages all of the political nuclei established in India and Afghanistan by the Greek and Saka chiefs who followed Alexander the Great, the numerous coins which have survived do provide important data for the recognition of units the approximate frontiers of which have been established by means of other evidence.¹¹ It is generally agreed that no coins of the Yavana or Bactrian dynasties were struck in the Oxus and Jaxartes valleys after the reign of Heliocles, that is, after about 135 B.C. In Seistan and Kandahar, and to an extent in Ghazni, numerous Yavana coins have been found which cover the period down to and including the reign of Eucratides, the contemporary of Mithradates I of Parthia. Coins of a contemporary prince, Antimachus, have been reported for the Murghab River valley region of Margiana. Supported as they are by fragmentary literary references, these collections of coins lead to the conclusion that for a generation at least prior to the expansion of Parthia under Mithradates I, Greek princes had held all of Arachosia and parts at least of Gedrosia, Zarangiana, Areia, and Margiana. For the period succeeding the reign of Eucratides no coins of the Yavana princes appear to have circulated in Seistan (Zarangiana), Kandahar (northern Gedrosia), and Ghazni (Arachosia). Odd pieces, of course, find their way beyond areas of circulation, but a study of the surviving Yavana coinages justifies the conclusion that there is no numismatic evidence pointing to the inclusion of these areas within the kingdoms of the eastern Greeks after about 155 B.C.

¹⁰ Le Strange, pp. 329-33; Holdich, pp. 193, 209, 292-311. Northern Gedrosia, in general the districts of Quetta and Kandahar, was classed by the Arabs as a part of Sijistan.

¹¹ The standard publication on the coins still remains Percy Gardner's *Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India* (London, 1886). He was much indebted of course to the earlier work of Alfred von Sallet, and he summarizes the data gathered together by Sir Alexander Cunningham covering the find spots of the coins. Cunningham devoted himself for years to the collection of coins and of information in regard to their find spots. This was published as *The Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East* (London, 1873). It is important to note that since the work of Cunningham relatively few ancient coins have been recovered from Afghanistan. Among a number of contributions by the English numismatist R. B. Whitehead, I have cited his "Notes on Indo-Greek Numismatics", *Numismatic Chronicle*, ser. 5, pt. 3, 1923, pp. 294-343. *The Cambridge History of India*, Volume I, contains three very important studies based in part on the numismatic evidence: "The Hellenic Kingdoms of Syria, Bactria, and Parthia" by Sir George Macdonald and "The Successors of Alexander the Great" and "The Scythian and Parthian Invaders" by Professor E. J. Rapson.

The Yavana principalities of the Indus basin took shape from about 155 B.C. to some time prior to the middle of the first century B.C., and under new dynasties they persisted at least to the middle of the succeeding century. The outline which follows is based largely on the very able and generally successful reconstruction of the numismatic evidence by Professor Rapson. The princes of the House of Euthydemus had their center in the eastern Punjab, where they represented a continuation of the earlier kingdom of Poros. In periods of expansion they dominated also the lower Indus valley and the seacoast, though for the most part these areas do not appear to have been effectively held by the Yavana kingdoms, and to the north they expanded into Kashmir and the upper Indus valley; at shorter intervals their rule extended westward to include much of the territory normally held by the rival House of Eucratides.

The greatest center of the House of Eucratides was undoubtedly Gandhara, and their kingdom is generally equated with the combined satrapies of Philip and Nikanor. To this I would add, for much of this period, the satrapy of the Paropamisadae and would distinguish more specifically than does Rapson a dependent unit in southwestern Punjab which had formed part of the satrapy of Philip.¹² After Gandhara the most important political unit held by the House of Eucratides was Kapica, which, as the kingdom of Hermaeus, survived after the valley of the Indus had passed into the hands of a new dynasty. Rapson equates this name with the upper Kabul valley and Kafiristan, but the evidence does not support this. Kapica certainly included parts of the Kabul valley and Kafiristan, but the study of its characteristic coin types in relation to the areas in which these types are known to have circulated requires that the center of this unit be located within the area embraced by the Kunar and Swat valleys, that is, within the satrapy of Nikanor. The coins of Hermaeus are found in large numbers not only in the Kabul valley but to the east in the Indus valley and the Punjab, where this prince must long have disputed the rise of the new dynasty. The late Chinese references to Kapica, cited by Rapson, refer not to the upper Kabul valley but to the Swat valley, which was a great Buddhist center and lay near the well-known southern road from China to India.¹³

¹² Rapson, "The Successors of Alexander the Great", *Cam. Hist. India*, I, 545-60.

¹³ For the holdings of Hermaeus see Whitehead, pp. 340, 342; for the discussion of Kapica see Rapson, *Cam. Hist. India*, I, 555-56. Imitation of the coinage of Hermaeus must be attributed to the Yueh-chi prior to the rise of the Kushana dynasty rather than to Pahlava kings of the Kabul valley. The boundaries of Kapica in the seventh century

Another important nucleus of the House of Eucratides has hitherto been known only by the monogram which distinguished its mint, *kappa* with *rho*.¹⁴ A considerable body of data is available for the identification of this mint area and points very definitely to the territory which had its center in the Bamian valley, the earlier Paropamisadae and the kingdom of Bamian of the Middle Ages. The mint was employed by at least fifteen Yavana princes and had a longer life than any of the other Greek mints of the East, from the reign of Euthydemus I to just prior to the accession of Hermaeus, the last of the Yavana lines. In it was struck more of the silver of Euthydemus I than in any other one mint, and it shared in the issue of his bronze. Since the greater part of the known coins of this reign have been found north of the Hindu Kush, this mint must have been adjacent to the Oxus valley. An analysis of the coins of Demetrius I points to the same conclusion. Of those coins of Euthydemus which have been recovered south of the Hindu Kush, by far the greater part come from the upper Kabul valley; the mint, therefore, must have been adjacent to this area. On the other hand, the greater number of the princes who made use of this mint ruled only south of the Hindu Kush; it follows of course that it cannot have been located in Bactria. These conditions can be satisfied only by an assignment of the mint to either Bamian or the head of the Kabul valley, but the latter must be ruled out because of other considerations.

In his study of the Yavana coinages Whitehead has noted a group of five mint marks which he was unable to place in the Indus valley, Punjab, or Kapica, and which appeared to have been particularly associated with the region of the Kabul valley. The mint distinguished by *kappa-rho* is one of these five, but the evidence suggests that it was less directly connected with the Kabul valley itself than were the other four. The English numismatist discusses in detail ninety-seven silver coins found in the upper Kabul valley which cover nine reigns and

may not be applied to the first century B.C. in the absence of corroborative evidence. Cunningham and Rapson did not have access to the Chinese material which has been made fully available by De Groot. The common view that the city of Katisa, named by Ptolemy for the Paropamisadae, represents Kapica is a pure surmise.

¹⁴ Macdonald (*Cam. Hist. India*, I, 443) recognizes this monogram as a true mint mark and discusses its importance. Cf. Whitehead, pp. 311 and 315-16. It should be emphasized that such mint marks do not necessarily represent names of cities. All of the great Parthian mints of Iran from about 70 B.C. are so distinguished, and the Parthian practice appears to have been borrowed directly from the Bactrian.

show thirteen different mint marks. The four mints for the upper valley are represented by 16, 26, 17, and 11 specimens each, the fifth mint by only one coin.¹⁵ Even more opposed to the attribution of this mint to the Kabul valley is the evidence that it was employed by the Parthians from about 70 B.C. to about 25 B.C. A large series of Parthian coins for this period, thoroughly homogeneous in their style, bear either the *kappa-rho* or *kappa* alone. The latter form occurs also in the Yavana coinage of this mint. The Parthian series cannot be assigned to areas further west, and their style had led me to associate them with the Bactrian region before my attention was called to the Yavana series.¹⁶ The latter antedates 70 B.C., though the mint area was very probably temporarily occupied also by Mithradates I and Mithradates II. The interest of both Parthians and Greeks of the East in the Bamian region may be explained by the presence there of silver mines as well as by its commercial and strategic importance as a passageway.

This location of an important Yavana nucleus in the Paropamisadae throws new light on the history of Greek domination of the Middle East. Though Bactria itself was lost, we find Greeks holding a solid block of territory from the Punjab north and west to the whole line of the mountain crest which overlooked Bactria and possessed of lines of communication not only with the Oxus but with Areia and thence to Media, farther west. In this arrangement the Kabul valley stands out in the perspective which we know was appropriate for the earlier period of Alexander and the later Islamic period—never an important center in its own right, it was essentially a passageway and a dependency of adjoining centers. This conclusion is supported by the extremely varied character of the numerous coins found there.

Sometime early in the first century B.C. a Saka dynasty, that of Maues and Azes, had risen in the Indus valley and by the middle of the century had occupied Gandhara and the Punjab. This consolidation of all of the Yavana holdings in the Indus basin, with the exception of Kapica where for a brief period Hermaeus continued to rule, had Gandhara for its center and was equivalent to the satrapy of Philip with the kingdoms of Poros and Abhisares. In the latter area lay the

¹⁵ Whitehead, pp. 315-16.

¹⁶ These Parthian coins will be discussed in greater detail in a later study. Warwick Wroth (*Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia* [London, 1903], p. 48, n. 1) has failed to note the *rho* combined with the *kappa*, but I have observed it repeatedly, and it has been recorded by Alexander von Petrowicz (*Arsaciden-Münzen* [Vienna, 1904], p. 42, no. 23).

original nucleus of the new dynasty, and this new development is significant.¹⁷

Rapson has insisted that the Sakai of whom Maues was the chief had formed part of the group which had attacked Parthia and must have entered India by way of the lower Indus valley. His argument rests on a number of fallacies. Contrary to the statement of Rapson, the displacement of Sakai by the Yueh-chi, which is described in the Chinese annals, took place, not in the country north of Bactria, but in a district northeast of the Pamirs, O-sun, and must be distinguished from the displacement mentioned by our Western sources. Rapson rejects the possibility that the Sakai of Maues entered India by way of the upper Indus or through one of the Kabul valley approaches because he assumes that they came in a body within a short period of time and in a state of political advancement requiring the issue of their own coinage. Neither of these assumptions is valid. We have already noted the Saka country shown by Ptolemy along the whole northern and eastern border of the upper Indus basin; these were the Sakai who had much earlier been conquered by Cyrus the Great, who had played an important part in Alexander's conquest of India, and who may be presumed to have filled a similar role under the Yavana feudal lords. It is only reasonable to assume a gradual infiltration of Saka elements into the upper Indus basin over a long period of time. As a final culmination of a long process we have the event cited by Rapson from the Chinese sources: Saka princes driven out by the Yueh-chi went *south* and became chiefs in the new land. All of the evidence thus points to the upper Indus valley as the nucleus of the power of the new dynasty, and within the new kingdom of Gandhara which they established there was effectively included, probably for the first time, all of the upper Indus basin which Ptolemy shows as an integral part of western India.

Coins of Maues and Azes, as well as of their successors Azilises and

¹⁷ For a general discussion of these Sakai in India see Rapson, "The Scythian and Parthian Invaders", *Cam. Hist. India*, I, 563-71. Cf. Whitehead, p. 338, and Gardner, p. xl. The coins of Maues have been found chiefly in northwestern Punjab. A number of his early types have been copied from the coins of the much earlier Menander and Demetrius, who had extended the Yavana frontiers into regions not retained by their successors, with the exception of Hippostratus. The latter appears to have ruled in the Punch valley of Kashmir, and his issues are closely related to those of both Maues and Azilises. The evidence suggests that the new dynasty rose in the upper Indus valley and retained that area in the subsequent period of contraction. For the Sakai see also Ptolemy, VI, 13.

Azes II, are not known for the Ghazni country or for the Kabul valley above Jelalabad. There does occur in the valley, and apparently only there, a series of issues belonging to a Vonones and an associated group of Saka rulers. The style and types of these coins are so closely related to those of the Sakai in Gandhara and the Punjab that the two groups of princes must be classed together, and it is generally accepted that Azes II represents a fusion of both elements.¹⁸ Rapson states that the family of Vonones ruled over "Drangiana [Seistan] and Arachosia [Kandahar]". In this he disregards completely the essential factor of find spots and bases himself on the characteristic types found on the coins of Vonones, which, he says, were "presumably" struck in some district of Arachosia. But these same types were employed by Azes, Azilises, or Hermaeus, who by no stretch of the imagination can be thought to have ruled Seistan, Kandahar, or even Ghazni. The assumption of Rapson is reasonable that the character of the legend on this class of coins, with its reference to joint rulers, points to two different areas controlled by one paramount chief. As one area I would suggest the Kabul valley, where the coins occur, with Arachosia as we have defined it, excluding the Kandahar district. As the second area, joined to the first by the Gumal and Tochi passes, southwestern Punjab, south of the Peshawar district, presents itself as a logical choice.

Identified with this area, the types of Vonones and his associates fulfill all of the requirements of their occurrence in other reigns. Before the fusion of the two groups under Azes II, the princes of Kabul and Arachosia appear at times to have extended their rule over Peshawar and parts of Gandhara. It is not necessary to assume, as do Rapson and Thomas, that Vonones occupied not only the Kabul valley but brought to an end the rule of Hermaeus in what had been left of Kapica. During this period Azilises continued to rule in parts of Gandhara and the Punjab, and the Chinese sources suggest that Kapica, in part at least, became united to Gandhara. The date given by Rapson for Vonones is approximately correct, though it will be suggested below that he had established himself in the Kabul valley prior to 36 B.C. For our present purposes the particular significance of the rise of Vonones lies in the evidence it affords of the development of a new nucleus and, for the first time since the reign of Eucratides, of an

¹⁸ Gardner, pp. xl-xli; Rapson, *Cam. Hist. India.*, I, 568-74. Vonones himself presumably was no Saka, but an Iranian prince who had joined himself to this group. He may have been an Arsacid, but, as will be shown below, the date limits of his reign do not permit of his identification as Vonones I of Parthia, as has been suggested.

extension of the Indian frontier to include Arachosia, the region of Ghazni and of Lake Ab-i-Istada.

The successor of Azes II in Gandhara and the Punjab was Gondopharnes, and his reign in Gandhara began in A.D. 19.¹⁹ These admitted facts, however, determine neither the original nucleus of his power nor the date at which he established himself outside Gandhara. The bulk of the extant coins of Gondopharnes have been found in the Kabul valley, and a considerable quantity in the Punjab. Relatively few have been reported from Kandahar and Seistan. He countermarked coins of his contemporary Artabanus II of Parthia and of the earlier Orodes II. On his early coins he copied one of the types of this same Arsacid and borrowed the title *Autokrator* from the still earlier Sinatruces of Parthia. Without citing finds of his coins Rapson assumes that Gondopharnes reigned in "Arachosia" because of a supposed relationship with Vonones; that is, he assumes for Gondopharnes the arguments which he applied to the types of Vonones.

Though I find no evidence of a relationship between Gondopharnes and Vonones, I would accept the assumption of Rapson as applied to Arachosia as here defined. There can be no doubt that Gondopharnes interfered in Parthian affairs and territory, but the evidence of the coins points only to this and not to prolonged rule over districts which had hitherto been Parthian. I would suggest, rather, that Gondopharnes rose to power in a region of Arachosia, above Lake Ab-i-Istada, that had once been Parthian but was so no longer. There he imitated coins of former reigns. From an early point in his reign he must have ruled also in the Kabul valley, and to that area I would assign at least one, perhaps both, classes of his coins with the Nike reverse. Thus far his coinage remains entirely distinct from that of his Saka predecessors. The greater number of his known types, however, closely follow those of Azes and Azilises, and they must be assigned to the succeeding period of his rule in Gandhara and the Punjab. The date for his accession is based on an inscription made in Gandhara and is expressed in terms of an Indian era; it can be taken to indicate only the acknowledgment of his succession to the throne of this ancient center. The date

¹⁹ Rapson, *Cam. Hist. India*, I, 576-78. For the find spots of the coins of Gondopharnes see Gardner, pp. xlv, l. Ernst Herzfeld ("Sakastan", *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, IV [Jan., 1932], 91-102) has argued that the center of power of Gondopharnes lay in Seistan, and in this he has seriously altered the chronology of the preceding reigns. Though there is much of value in his discussion, his disregard of the essential unity of the numismatic evidence makes unacceptable his argument for the location of the kingdom of Gondopharnes as well as that of the Chinese unit known as Ke-pin.

A.D. 19 is important as fixing the definite union of the Punjab, Gandhara, Kapica, the Kabul valley, and Arachosia.

In this connection we must consider the coinage of the "nameless king" of this period, who called himself on his issues simply *Soter Megas*.²⁰ The great majority of his coins represent a complete break with the types and style which had characterized the coinages of the Maues and Vonones group as well as with the later issues of Gondopharnes. On all of the latter a horseman is shown on the obverse, whereas *Soter Megas*, like the Arsacids, displayed the royal portrait on the obverse. The reverse of his coins invariably bears the figure of a horseman, but it is done in a style closely similar to that on contemporary and later Parthian coins. The coins of *Soter Megas* occur in great numbers in the Kabul valley and are noted by Gardner for no other area. For the period succeeding Gondopharnes, however, the issues of the Kushana dynasty occur in that valley in even greater abundance. This fact together with the wide diversity of style separating the coinages of the Kushanas and *Soter Megas* requires the assignment of the latter to the period immediately preceding Gondopharnes, and it follows that he must have been the successor of Vonones in the Kabul valley and, presumably, in Arachosia.

Soter Megas, I suggest, was the first of the so-called Pahlava rulers. From some nucleus in Arachosia near the Parthian border he rose and destroyed the power of Vonones. While *Soter Megas* controlled the Kabul valley and Arachosia, and perhaps its extension through the Gumal Pass to the Indus, Azes II continued to rule in Gandhara, a part of the Punjab, and probably in the Swat valley of Kapica. I would suggest, further, that Gondopharnes inherited the kingdom of *Soter Megas* and continued to rule his territory for some years before he invaded and conquered Gandhara. The rise of *Soter Megas* represents a reaction against the earlier rise of Vonones and his Saka associates, but the two must be considered as the founders of a kingdom which for perhaps fifty years maintained itself between India and Parthia.

The united kingdom of Gondopharnes, which centered in Gandhara, was broken up by the rise of the Kushana dynasty. In Pacores and Orthagnes we have two Pahlava princes who maintained themselves for some years thereafter in Arachosia and southwestern Punjab.²¹

²⁰ Gardner, pp. xlvii, 1, 114-16. Rapson (*Cam. Hist. India*, I, 581) suggests that *Soter Megas* may have been a subordinate of the Kushana dynasty, but the style and types of his coins are definitely earlier and are completely foreign to those of Kadphises I and his successors.

²¹ Rapson, *Cam. Hist. India*, I, 578, 580. Rapson has made Orthagnes a predecessor

The types of the former associate him in particular with the Indian side of the Gumal Pass, whereas the latter can have ruled only in Arachosia, but the coins of both occur in Kandahar and Seistan. This advance is to be connected with the civil wars in Parthia during the reign of Volagases I.

There are known coins of Phraates IV of Parthia which have been countermarked by an unnamed Saka ruler; these coins appear to have been struck in the Parthian mint of southern Gedrosia. Sanabares, another Saka or Pahlava prince, imitated coins of Volagases I which must be attributed to this same mint. On the basis of these associations both of these princes must be assigned to the delta country of the Indus valley, immediately adjoining Gedrosia, where, as we learn from the *Periplus*, during this very period "Parthian" lords ruled in a state of constant civil war.²²

This outline of the political units which bordered the eastern frontiers of Parthia during the periods of Greek and Saka rule in the Middle East can be filled in and rendered more complete by evidence from contemporary Chinese annals. We are here concerned chiefly with data to be found in the *Ch'ien-han-su*, though recourse is had to the earlier *Shi-ki* and the later *Hou-han-su*. The picture there presented applies to the first century B.C. and to that part of the next century which preceded the rise of the Kushana dynasty.²³ For this period and the area embracing northwestern India and the Afghan country north

of Gondopharnes on the basis of an issue which, on the obverse, bears the name of the former as paramount king and, on the reverse, the name of Gondopharnes. I suggest, rather, that it was struck after the defeat of Gondopharnes but before his death. This supposition appears to be necessitated by the fact that all of the coins of Orthagnes imitate the portrait of Volagases I of Parthia, who came to the throne in A.D. 51. I refer in particular to an issue of drachms of Volagases struck, I believe, in the mint of Drangiana, of which I have seen several examples. Petrowicz (p. 129, no. 14) has published what appears to be a similar piece.

²² Wroth, p. 114, nos. 96-102. For the coins of Sanabares see Gardner, p. 113, nos. 1-5. The first of these coins bears the mark of the Parthian mint of Ecbatana and a date which may be "IT" rather than as given. Though dates rarely occur on the Parthian coinage of Iran, when employed they are invariably based on the Arsacid Era, and the date in this instance, too, should be read as A.D. 62/63. Though apparently of the delta country by origin, there are some grounds for classing Sanabares as a king of Parthia; his successor in Parthia may have been Mithradates IV. See also *Le Périple de la mer Erythrée*, edited by H. Frisk (Göteborg, 1927), no. 38.

²³ For the most part I shall cite the now standard translation and commentary of J. J. M. de Groot, *Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens* (2 vols., Berlin, 1921-1926), especially Volume II, *Die Westlande Chinas in der vorchristlichen Zeit*. I have made use, also, of O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesische Reiches*, Volume I (Berlin, 1930), and Sten Konow, "Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology", *Journal of Indian History*, XII (Apr., 1933), 1-46.

to the Oxus River, the Chinese recognized to the east of Parthia two so-called great kingdoms, Ke-pin and O-ik-san-li, together with a number of smaller kingdoms or dependent districts. Among the latter we are particularly concerned with Ko-hu, P'ak-tat, and the country occupied by the five clans of the Yueh-chi.

In this particular period the Yueh-chi occupied the upper Oxus valley from the Pamirs west to include Badakshan and the Kunduz River valley, as well as upper Chitral.²⁴ South and southeast of the Yueh-chi was said to lie Ke-pin. Most scholars, influenced by similarity of sound, identify Ke-pin with Kapica, though the Peshawar district is generally included.²⁵ The philological relationship in this instance is probable but establishes no boundaries. Kapica was better known to the Chinese, since it lay nearer their borders, than Gandhara. For that reason they used that name, but the territory they referred to included Gandhara. A part was used to denote the whole, just as the Greeks had used the word Parthia to denote a larger empire. Lan-to, a dependent district of Ke-pin, lay to the northeast, and De Groot has been able to identify it with the Hunza country, far beyond Kapica.

²⁴ There is general agreement, based on precise geographical data, that their territory comprised Wakhan, Badakshan, and Chitral. Most writers include also Kafiristan and parts of the Kabul valley. For the former there is no evidence whatsoever, and it contradicts the texts; for the latter the numismatic evidence is strongly opposed, and Bamian more nearly meets the requirements of the text. This will be discussed under Ko-hu. In spite of the general agreement as to the actual location of the five clans, there is a tendency on the part of scholars to assume that in some manner they also controlled Bactria during this period. This is based largely on the assumption that in the second century B.C. the Yueh-chi had invaded Bactria, called by the Chinese the Kingdom of Ta-ha, from their base in Sogdiana, which the Chinese regarded as also Ta-ha country. Though the texts repeatedly distinguish between the Kingdom of Ta-ha south of the Oxus River and the Ta-ha territory north of the river, where alone the Yueh-chi are described as located during this earlier period, scholars have completely missed the distinction—largely owing to their preoccupation with attempts to identify the Yueh-chi with one or more of the nomad tribes named by our Western sources. The evidence offered to connect the Yueh-chi with Bactria in the first century is so weak that it would not have received support except for the fatal confusion in the history of the second century. This evidence concerns the names of capital cities: In the second century B.C. the capital of Bactria was called Lam-si, a century later that of the Yueh-chi in their new home bore the name Kam-si, and seven hundred years after this the name Lam-si occurs as a district of To-ho-lo, a term which the Chinese had adopted to designate Yueh-chi territory. At best, identification through similarity in the supposed sound is weak. In this instance scholars have disregarded the clear statement in the *Hou-han-su*, which directly follows the *Ch'ien-han-su*, that the Yueh-chi first took P'ak-tat (the country around Balkh) only upon the rise of the Kushana dynasty in the period just after that with which we are dealing. For the situation in the second century see De Groot, II, 12-27; for that in the first century, *ibid.*, pp. 95-102, 109. Cf. Konow, pp. 10-11, 14.

²⁵ De Groot, II, 85-87; Rapson, *Cam. Hist. India*, I, 566-67. Konow (pp. 15, 31) admits that Ke-pin finally embraced all of the Gandhara kingdom.

In itself conclusive is the description of Ke-pin. Along with Parthia and O-ik-san-li it was distinguished as a great kingdom possessed of its own coinage. The land was said to be flat and the climate mild, so the characteristic part of the country must have embraced the Indus plain of Gandhara. It produced sandalwood and bamboo, and its fauna included the elephant and the buffalo. Its inhabitants were adept in the construction of great buildings and in carving, engraving, and inlay work. Further proof of the identity of Ke-pin rests on interesting numismatic notes in the Chinese text. For this particular period the Parthian coinage was said to bear on the reverse the portrait of a woman. This can refer only to Musa, wife and mother of Phraataces (2 B.C.-A.D. 5); their coinage is especially characteristic of southeastern Iran. The contemporary coinages of Ke-pin and O-ik-san-li are compared in the further statement that the obverse of the former bore the figure of a horseman, while in the case of the latter the horseman appeared on the reverse. As we have already seen, the coinage thus attributed to Ke-pin is characteristic of the kingdom of Gandhara under the Saka dynasty, and that to O-ik-san-li, of the kingdom of *Soter Megas*. It is clear, therefore, that the Ke-pin of the Chinese sources is the kingdom of Gandhara, which in succession had been the kingdom of the House of Eucratides, the kingdom of the Saka dynasty of Maues, and, later, the kingdom of Gondopharnes. The Chinese evidence demonstrates, as the types of Maues had suggested, that this great political unit extended far to the north in the upper Indus basin, where it must have touched the country of the Sakai delimited by Ptolemy.

O-ik-san-li, besides being identified as the kingdom of *Soter Megas*, was said to lie both west and southwest of Ke-pin as well as to the east of Parthia. It was described as flat, very fertile, but very hot. As west of Ke-pin it clearly embraced Arachosia, as we have defined it, and the district of Kabul. As southwest of Ke-pin, and characterized by extreme heat, we must conclude not only that it extended east through the Gumal and Tochi passes but that it included an important area in southwestern Punjab, for to the Chinese this was the characteristic part of the country.²⁶

Further evidence is afforded by the description of the principal branch of the great southern road from China to the far west. It passed through Khotan, and considerable detail is given of its course thence southwest through Ke-pin and its terminus in O-ik-san-li.²⁷ Although

²⁶ De Groot, II, 86, 91, 93.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48, 69-70, 92.

four principal routes are described, only in the one instance is this detail afforded; and it is to be taken as evidence of the importance of both route and terminus. The Chinese apparently knew nothing of the great desert of the Sind, and they fail to mention the sea in connection with the terminus. One may presume, therefore, that their road came to an end north of the Sind, and there may be real significance in the fact that the road from Bagdad to India described by the early Arab geographers extended to Multan in southwestern Punjab, adjacent to the very area we are discussing. The description of the sea route from Egypt and the Persian Gulf to the Indus mouth given in the *Periplus* belongs to the same century as does the Chinese account.

Even more closely contemporary is the account given by Isidor of Charax of the route from Syria through Seleucia, which he brings to an end on the Parthian border at what he calls the metropolis of Arachosia. Now the Chinese text states that in order to reach Parthia from the terminus one proceeded north and a little to the east (apparently an error for "west"), and if from Multan, or from the district near it on the west bank of the Indus, one proceeds north and a short distance west through the Gumal Pass one reaches the very point where our western sources all place the capital of Arachosia, and where Isidor places the contemporary Parthian border.²⁸ The Arab name for Ghazni, "the port of India", links it with southwestern Punjab in the trade from the Oxus valley. This remarkable series of Chinese documents of the first century demonstrates the existence of an important political unit stretching across Arachosia to the middle Indus valley, which served to link the commerce of the upper Indus valley and China and that of Parthia and the Indus delta.

O-ik-san-li was in existence as a kingdom independent of Ke-pin as early as 36 B.C., when it was included in a report to the Chinese court as one of the nations threatened by the rise to power of Tche-tche and the K'ang-ki of Sogdiana.²⁹ This reference can apply only to the reign of Vonones, while he and his associates were ruling Arachosia and the Kabul valley, and it confirms the suggestion already made that *Soter Megas* must be recognized as the successor of Vonones in Arachosia. The reference is important not only as establishing the date for Vonones but, through this, for the support it accords the general

²⁸ See note 7 above. For Multan and the Arab route see Holdich, pp. 192-93; Le Strange, pp. 332-33; Isidor of Charax, no. 19.

²⁹ De Groot, II, 103-104; see also Volume I, *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit*, p. 230.

chronology for the Yavana and Saka kings, which has been worked out by Rapson.

We have seen that the Yueh-chi were located during the first century B.C. in the Oxus valley from the Pamirs to, and including, Badakshan. The districts occupied by four of the five clans are described as extending in a row from east to west, and the fifth clan is said to be located south of the fourth. In the *Ch'ien-han-su* the territory of this fifth clan is called by the name Ko-hu, but the *Hou-han-su*, which takes up the narrative from the rise of the Kushana dynasty, states that in this the earlier annals were in error, that the country of the fifth clan bore the name To-bit, and that Ko-hu lay southwest of the Yueh-chi districts and was a large wealthy country with a distinctive culture related to that of India. It had never been independent but had successively been under the rule of T'ien-tok (Eastern Punjab and in part Kashmir), Ke-pin, and Parthia; the Yueh-chi took it only when Kadphises I first expanded his district to establish the Kushana empire. Not only is Parthia named as the last to hold Ko-hu prior to this, but in a later passage we find again the statement: "He [Kadphises I] attacked Parthia, took possession of Ko-hu, and destroyed P'ak-tat and Ke-pin."³⁰

Some scholars have identified Ko-hu as the upper Kabul valley, but the evidence strongly supports its equation with the district of Bamian. Here lay the center for an important area; it possessed great wealth; as a great Buddhist center its cultural relations with India must have been close; and it lay southwest of Badakshan, which was the heart of the Yueh-chi country. I suggest that the fifth clan had occupied the upper Kunduz valley, corresponding to To-bit; that about 25 B.C. it took possession of Bamian, adjacent to this valley, and forced the closing of the Parthian mint of Bamian; that the Parthians later regained political control of Bamian with its new element, probably during the reign of Artabanus II, who is known to have waged successful wars in the East; and that during the civil wars between Vardanes and Gotarzes, Kadphises I conquered Bamian as described in the *Hou-han-su*. Under this interpretation, which appears to meet all of the requirements, both of the Chinese records can be accepted without contradiction; the later of the two naturally reflects the account

³⁰ De Groot, II, 101-102. See also page 48 for a third century Chinese document which names as dependencies of the Yueh-chi the regions of Ko-hu, Ta-ha, Ke-pin, etc. This suggests that Ko-hu, like the other units named, had not formed an integral part of the territory of the five clans. In all of the Chinese texts Parthia is referred to as An-sik, and the term is never applied to any other country.

most favorable to the prestige of the Kushana dynasty. Ko-hu thus appears as the equivalent of the great kingdom of Bamian of the Middle Ages, of the great borderline mint area of the Parthian and Yavana kingdoms, and of the Paropamisadae of the Hellenistic sources.

Over a period of several years around the middle of the first century A.D. Kadphises I conquered and united Bactria proper, Bamian, and the kingdom of Gandhara with its extensions into the Kunar, Swat, and upper Indus valleys.³¹ The Kabul valley must have been included, but the situation in Arachosia is not clear. As we have seen, it had formed part of the united kingdom of Gondopharnes, but after his defeat Pacores and Orthagnes continued to rule there and in southwestern Punjab for an indefinite period. Unlike Ke-pin and Ko-hu, O-ik-san-li does not appear to have been mentioned by later Chinese sources as a dependency of the Yueh-chi, and it is not clear whether Arachosia was then counted as an integral part of Ke-pin or whether it lay outside the Kushana frontiers. The latter supposition is supported by the evidence already noted for the location of Zabulistan during the early Islamic period, with its center around Ghazni, and the close correspondence of its borders with those given for Arachosia by Ptolemy in the second century A.D. In the delta of the lower Indus the overlordship of the Kushanas came to be recognized, but it does not appear to have been effectively exercised.

On the basis of the available evidence the frontiers of the Kushana Empire toward Iran, at least until the close of the Parthian period, cannot be extended to include more than Bactria proper, the Paropamisadae of Bamian, and, possibly, the Arachosia of Ghazni with its extension east into the Indus valley. To a remarkably close degree this western boundary approximates that of the Yavana kingdoms of the East at the death of Eucratides about 155 B.C. The changes in this frontier during the intervening period were limited largely to the successive loss and reconquest of these same three areas of central Afghanistan.³²

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³¹ As Konow states (p. 31), as against Rapson (*Cam. Hist. India*, I, 584), it was Kadphises I rather than Kadphises II who took Taxila, which was east of the Indus and ten miles northwest of Rawal Pindi. Rapson was led into this error by his failure to realize that Ke-pin included all of Gandhara. T'ien-tok, equivalent to the kingdom of the House of Euthydemus, fell to the second of the Kushana line.

³² The author regrets that this article was completed prior to the publication of two important works: W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria & India* (New York, 1938), and W. M. McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia* (Chapel Hill, 1939).

THE COLUMBUS QUESTION

A SURVEY OF RECENT LITERATURE AND PRESENT OPINION

A RECENT contributor to the *American Historical Review* has written that "Lincoln is everybody's subject."¹ The same may be said with equal truth of Columbus, who is alternately praised and belittled, groomed for canonization and charged with piracy, lauded as a scientist and branded as an ignoramus. Conservative adherents of the Irving-Fiske-Harrisse discovery version still engage in polemics with revisionists, both mild and radical. There is a lunatic fringe of writers determined to establish far-fetched theories regarding the Columbus enterprise or to prove that the discoverer was of some nationality hitherto unsuspected.² In Italy, Spain, and Portugal patriotism is seldom divorced from the subject.

Literary production among the Columbists continues abundantly and shows no tendency to slacken in volume despite the scarcity of fresh evidence.³ Only two new Columbus documents have come to light in the twentieth century, and there appears little hope of important additions in the future.⁴ The next stage, as Rómulo Cárbia, the able Argentine historian, rightly insists, should be that of re-evaluating the existing sources, returning to the original manuscripts and correcting the frequently erroneous printed versions.⁵

¹ J. G. Randall, "Has the Lincoln Theme been Exhausted?" XLI (1936), 270.

² Though the present writer does not pretend to know all the birthplaces attributed to Columbus, the following list of nationalities is representative: mainland Italian (including the claims of Genoa, Savona, Cogoleto, Nervi, Pradello, Cuccaro, Piacenza, Albisola, Bugiasco, and Finale), Corsican, Mallorcan, Galician, Catalan, Portuguese, Greek, "Nordic", Jewish, French, Swiss, English, and Armenian.

³ See "Bibliographie des grandes découvertes", *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*, VII (1936), 363-445, especially sections 9 and 10.

⁴ The document establishing Columbus's birth year as 1451, Ugo Assereto, "La data della nascita di Colombo", *Giornale storico e letterario della Liguria*, V (1904), 5 ff.; and the Piri Re's map, described by Paul Kahle, "A Lost Map of Columbus", *Geographical Review*, XXIII (1933), 621-38. The Assereto document is printed by Charles de la Roncière, *La découverte de l'Afrique au moyen âge*, III (Cairo, 1928), 63-68, and in part by Henry Vignaud, "Proof that Columbus was born in 1451: A New Document", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XII (1907), 270-79. A photographic reproduction appears in Roberto Almagià, *I primi esploratori dell'America* (Rome, 1937), nos. 4, 5, and 6.

⁵ Cárbia, *La nueva historia del descubrimiento de América* (Buenos Aires, 1936) and *La investigación científica y el descubrimiento de América* (Buenos Aires, 1937), the latter

Most of the current disputes over Columbus are in some degree traceable to divergent opinions regarding sources. Of what value, for instance, is the *Historie . . . della vita e dei fatti di Cristoforo Colombo*, attributed to Ferdinand Columbus and published at Venice thirty-two years after his death in Spain? Is this an authentic biography of the admiral by his son, is it mainly the work of Luís de Colón, his dishonest grandson, or is it the pure fabrication of Las Casas, as Cárba maintains?⁶ The reliability of the *História de las Indias*, which agrees almost word for word with the *Historie* in important particulars, is thus called in question. Should it be seriously impugned, the somewhat neglected *Pleitos de Colón* would become our chief source, and a greatly revised history of the discovery would result. The authenticity of the *Libro de las Profecias* is now challenged, in part at least.⁷ Fritz Streicher's examination of the marginal notes by the Columbus brothers in books at the *Colombina* in Seville, though scholarly, does not seem to have contributed materially to the solution of any weighty problem.⁸ The Toscanelli correspondence, disputed for nearly forty years, is controversial still. Fortunately, plans have been made for preparing critical editions of the *Historie*, the *História de las Indias*, and the *Pleitos*.⁹ An international commission of scholars will superintend the publications, which will provide a basis for sounder judgments.¹⁰ When this work is accomplished, it is to be hoped that Columbists will give more attention to the scientific aspects of the discovery of America and less to biographical minutiae concerning the discoverer.¹¹ Since, however,

in answer to Diego Luís Molinari, "La empresa Colombina y el descubrimiento", *História de la nación argentina*, II (Buenos Aires, 1937), 341-528, who maintained that traditional sources might be taken at their face value.

⁶ Evidence of a Luís de Colón forgery is presented by Alberto Magnaghi, "I presunti errori che vengono attribuiti à Colombo nella determinazione delle latitudine", pt. 2, *Bollettino della Reale società geografica italiana*, LXV (1928), 553-82. Cárba (*La nuova história*) believes that the entire *Historie* was invented by Las Casas to help the Colón heirs in their suit with the crown.

⁷ Magnaghi, *Boll. R. Soc. Geog. Ital.*, LXV, 553-82.

⁸ Streicher, "Die Kolumbus-originale: Eine paläographische Studie", *Spanische Forschungen der Görres-Gesellschaft*, I (Munich, 1928), 196-250.

⁹ The latest edition of the *Historie*, that of Rinaldo Caddeo (2 vols., Milan, 1930), is valuable in some respects but not critical in the sense demanded. The Gonzalo de Reparaz edition of Las Casas (3 vols., Madrid, 1927) is scarcely superior to that of 1875-76. The *Pleitos de Colón*, edited by Cesario Fernandez Duro, forms Volumes VII and VIII (Madrid, 1892, 1894) of the *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar*.

¹⁰ Almagià, "Il xxvi congresso internazionale degli Americanisti", *Boll. R. Soc. Geog. Ital.*, LXXIII, 111.

¹¹ Note the plea of Almagià for more geographical science and less biography in

these valuable labors have had to be postponed because of events in Spain, it may be useful to summarize our present knowledge and the more important studies of the recent past.

The question of a pre-Columbus discovery of America is apparently never laid to rest. Real or imaginary evidences of voyages and voyagers have long been exploited—the Basques, the Zenos, the mysterious “ixola otinticha” of the 1448 Bianco portolan, Pining and Pothorst, João Vaz Corte-Real, Fernam Dulmo, Alonso Sanchez de Huelva, Jean Cousin of Dieppe, and Diogo de Teive.¹² The Chinese tale of a transpacific discovery in the fifth century has received attention from Edward P. Vining and others, and even Africa’s claims have their advocates.¹³ European voyages, however, have naturally been the subjects of most controversy, and several of the latest theories are interesting both because of the evidence presented and the interpretation of it by their advocates.

William H. Babcock relied on the Battista Beccario map of 1435, which marks a group of “Insulle a nov R’pte” (newly reported islands) in the Atlantic, though these are hardly far enough westward to be easily identified with America. Babcock took these islands to be the present Antilles and from their placement thought it possible to distinguish Cuba, Jamaica, Florida, and one of the Bahamas.¹⁴ He had no suggestion to offer as to the discoverer’s identity but did point out that Martin Behaim, on his globe, reported a western voyage of the year 1414. It has since been shown, however, that a different explanation accounts more satisfactorily for Beccario’s islands.¹⁵

“Ciò che è definitivamente acquisito alla scienza e ciò che ancora può essere utilmente indagato intorno alla vita, ai viaggi ed alle scoperte di Cristoforo Colombo ed alle conseguenze di esse riguardo al progresso delle conoscenze geografiche”, *Bull. Internat. Com. Hist. Sci.*, V (1933), 267.

¹² The present study is not concerned with the voyages of Leif Erikson and Thorfinn Karlsefni. Though unquestionably authentic, they have no bearing on the Columbus enterprise.

¹³ Leo Wiener, *Africa and the Discovery of America*, II (Philadelphia, 1922), foreword and *passim*; Ahmed Zéki Pasha, “Une seconde tentative des Muselmans pour découvrir l’Amérique”, *Bulletin de l’Institut d’Égypte*, II (1920), 57 ff. The latter study deals with reported attempts by the Moslem rulers of Guinea in the fourteenth century.

¹⁴ *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic* (New York, 1922), p. 153. The same writer, “Antillia and the Antilles”, *Geog. Rev.*, IX (1920), 109-24, expressed the opinion that “The Antillia of 1435 was really, as now, the queen of the Antilles”. In “The Problem of Mayda, an Island appearing on Medieval Maps”, *ibid.*, pp. 335-46, Babcock held that Mayda really existed and conjectured that Bermuda, C. Cod, or C. Breton might be the original.

¹⁵ G. R. Crone, “The Origin of the Name Antillia”, *Geographical Journal*, XCI (1938), 260-61. Crone shows that what Babcock took for an authentic island is probably

Senhor Jaime Cortesão, an ardent champion of Portuguese priority in all Atlantic navigation, alleges that his countrymen reached Newfoundland in 1452, a contention endorsed by nearly all scholars of his nation.¹⁶ He explains the lack of direct evidence in support of this and other pre-Columbus Portuguese voyages on the basis of government secrecy. He earlier maintained with some reason that the rulers of Portugal deliberately destroyed or concealed maps and records that would have tempted foreigners to encroach on the nation's African discoveries.¹⁷ The same policy is supposed to have prevailed regarding the nebulous American voyages. Cortesão also insisted that a pre-Columbus discovery of South America should be inferred from the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, arguing that King John's insistence on placing the Line of Demarcation 370 leagues west of the Cape Verdes could be explained only by some prior knowledge on his part of the Brazilian littoral.¹⁸ The principal new idea in his latest work is a doubtful identification of Pero Vasques de la Frontera, mentioned in the *Pleitos de Colón*, with Pedro de Velasco, a Portuguese pilot to whom Columbus owed some of his knowledge of the Atlantic, and who accompanied Diogo de Teive on a westward voyage in 1452.¹⁹ Cortesão's ingenuity

the pillars of Hercules moved westward and that the legend "newly reported islands" refers to the newly discovered Azores.

¹⁶ The Portuguese have lately advanced many far-fetched claims for their voyagers, particularly regarding pre-Columbus discoveries of America. Their contentions are reviewed by two German scholars, Egmont Zechlin, "Das Problem der vorkolumbischen Entdeckung Amerikas", *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLII (1935), 1-47, and R. Hennig, "Die These einer vorcolumbischen portugiesischen Geheimkenntnis von Amerika", *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXX (1936), 548-92. Zechlin rather inclines to the Portuguese claim; Hennig somewhat contemptuously rejects it. Georg Friederici, *Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europäer*, Volume II (Stuttgart, 1936), which also reviews early Portuguese activity, did not become available in time for use in this study.

¹⁷ Cortesão, "Do sigilo nacional sobre os descobrimentos", *Lusitania*, I (1924), 45-81. On similar lines see G. H. Kimble, "Portuguese Policy and its Influence on Fifteenth Century Cartography", *Geog. Rev.*, XXIII (1933), 653-59.

¹⁸ "Le traité de Tordesillas et la découverte de l'Amérique", *Atti del XXII congresso internazionale degli Americanisti* (Rome, 1926), II, 649-83. Supporting this contention is Jordão de Freitas, "O descobrimento pre-Colombino da América Austral pelos Portugueses", *Lusitania*, IX (1926), 315-27.

¹⁹ "The Pre-Columbian Discovery of America", *Geog. Jour.*, LXXXIX (1937), 29-42. In attempting to prove this Portuguese discovery, Cortesão offers no cartographical evidence but mentions three reported voyages: (1) Teive and Velasco in 1452; (2) Teles in 1475; and (3) Dulmo and Estreito in 1487. Not one of these men is recorded in documents as having made a discovery. Cortesão is seemingly refuted by Crone, "The Alleged Pre-Columbian Discovery of America", *Geog. Jour.*, LXXXIX (1937), 455-60. A Portuguese version of Cortesão's work appears as *O viagem de Diogo de Teive e Pedro Vasquez de la Frontera ao banco de Terra Nova em 1452* (Lisbon, 1933).

in wringing new meanings from old documents is countered by the lack of positive evidence in his favor. The greatest admirer of Portuguese seafaring prowess should hesitate to accept arguments based in part on the absence of documents.

Sofus Larsen of Copenhagen reshapes familiar data in an attempt to show that Danes visited North America about 1472-74.²⁰ He points to an apparent Portuguese-Danish liaison for discovery purposes, originally stimulated by Prince Henry. Eanes de Zurara describes the participation of the Dane, Vallarte, in a Portuguese voyage to Senegal in 1448.²¹ This had a counterpart, Larsen thinks, in the presence of João Vaz Corte-Real and Alvaro Martins Homem with the expedition of Didrik Pining and Hans Pothorst, piloted by Joanes Scolvus, which sailed to Greenland and perhaps Newfoundland some twenty-five years later. A Portuguese document credits Corte-Real and Homem with the discovery of "Terra de Bacalaos" ²² in 1473 but omits the details.²³ Indications exist that King Christian of Denmark undertook the Pining-Pothorst venture at the wish of Alfonso of Portugal. Later documents, mostly cartographical, vaguely connect the name of the pilot Scolvus with the region of Labrador. Larsen, after laboring heroically to bridge gaps, concludes that one expedition accounts for it all and that Corte-Real and Homem went as official observers to witness the Danish discovery. The theory of a voyage to Newfoundland on this occasion is strengthened by the fact that in the next generation Corte-Real's sons sailed there, perhaps following directions furnished by their father. The Larsen thesis, while in some respects plausible, is vulnerable because of both chronological discrepancies and the lack of concrete data.

From these examples it will be seen that recent efforts to establish pre-Columbus discoveries have proved no more convincing than older ones.²⁴ The inherent probability is that some such voyages took place,

²⁰ *The Discovery of North America Twenty Years before Columbus* (Copenhagen and London, 1925). Larsen's case is examined and rejected by Giuseppe Caraci, "Una pretesa scoperta dell'America vent'anni innanzi Colombo", *Boll. R. Soc. Geog. Ital.*, LXVII (1930), 771-812.

²¹ *Chronica do descobrimento e conquista de Guiné*, ed. by Carreira (Paris, 1841), pp. 441-49.

²² A name applied to Newfoundland soon after the discovery of America.

²³ Ernesto do Canto, *Os Corte-Reaes* (Ponta Delgada, 1883), p. 395; Armando Cortesão, *Cartografia e cartógrafos portugueses dos séculos xv e xvi* (Lisbon, 1935), I, 310.

²⁴ All such attempts, old and new, are summarized by Zechlin, *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CLII, 1-47. Somewhat different is Alberto Magnaghi's study of the ill-fated Vivaldi enterprise, "Precursori di Colombo? Il tentativo di viaggio transoceanico dei genovesi fratelli Vivaldi

but no specific instance thus far advanced seems able to stand the test of criticism. All cases presented to date have wishful thinking as their main ingredient, and the whole matter may be summarized now, as a hundred years ago, in the words—possible but not proved.

Attempts to provide Columbus with any but a Genoese origin have failed utterly, and in the judgment of serious scholars the subject is closed. Only one such effort ever attracted widespread attention—the campaign by Celso Garcia de la Riega of Pontevedra to prove that the discoverer was a Galician Spaniard. Don Celso said that documents existed at Pontevedra attesting the presence there in the fifteenth century of families named Colón and Fonterosa,²⁵ and that several of these Colóns bore given names corresponding to those of individuals in the Columbus family. Beginning in 1899, he strove to convince the public that Columbus was of Galician birth, though he did not entirely eliminate Genoa, for he explained that the family migrated there when Cristóbal was a small child.²⁶ The reasons for this departure, Don Celso said, were obscure and evidently required concealment, and so Columbus refrained in later life from ever naming his true birthplace. An elaborated edition of his work was published in 1914. It included photographic reproductions of several Pontevedra documents, though the originals had meanwhile been examined by two paleographers, Serrano Sanz and Eladio Oviedo y Arce, both of whom pronounced them falsified.²⁷ This, however, had failed to stop the “Colón Español” excitement, which spread into Spanish America. Rómulo Cárbia refused to be converted and pronounced the question an enigma.²⁸ Enrique Sanfuentes y Correa of Chile leaned strongly to the Genoese side.²⁹ Others, less reticent, came to the aid of the Pontevedra

nel 1291”, *Memorie della Reale società geografica italiana*, XVIII (Rome, 1935). Magnaghi reverses previous ideas by showing that Ugolino and Vadino Vivaldi intended to reach India by crossing the Atlantic along the parallel of the Canaries, thus anticipating Columbus by 201 years. Had the voyage gone as planned, the discovery of America must have resulted in 1291. But the ships were wrecked off the Moroccan coast and the men sold into slavery.

²⁵ Columbus’s mother was named Susanna Fontanarossa.

²⁶ *Cristóbal Colón ¿Español?* (Madrid, 1899).

²⁷ Serrano Sanz, of the University of Zaragoza, and Oviedo y Arce made separate investigations and reached identical conclusions. Their findings are summarized by Angél de Altolaguirre y Duvalé, “¿Colón Español? Estudio histórico-crítico”, *Boletín de la Real sociedad geográfica*, LXIV (1924), 3-89.

²⁸ *Origen y patria de Cristóbal Colón* (Buenos Aires, 1918).

²⁹ *Cristóbal Colón* (Santiago, Chile, 1918).

champion, though their assistance was of doubtful value.³⁰ In Spain Ricardo Beltrán y Rózpide was the only historian of note to be affected, and he was not a blind convert to the new school. With no particular thesis to sustain, he simply used internal evidence to demonstrate that Columbus could not with certainty be declared an Italian, and his examination of the sources was of some value.³¹ Angel de Altolaguirre y Duvalé, Spain's leading Columbian, remained conservative, declaring that the Pontevedra documents were worthless and that the whole affair would come to nothing.³² Undaunted by this powerful opposition, a number of minor Spanish writers repeated García de la Riega's argument *ad nauseam* and produced a host of worthless books.³³ Finally, to end the controversy, the Royal Spanish Academy of History appointed a committee of scholars above suspicion to make a thorough investigation of the documents used by Don Celso, who in the meantime had died. In 1928 the commissioners reported their unanimous finding, namely, that the records were falsified, that the falsifications were recent and all the work of one person, and that in consequence the Pontevedra documents could not serve as the basis of any serious historical work.³⁴ The maxim *De mortuis nihil nisi bonum* seems to have been applied in their case, as they left the forger unnamed. The academy's hope of terminating this particular debate has apparently been fulfilled, for since 1928 no "Pontevedra" writings have appeared. Three years later the city of Genoa published an elaborate collection of all the docu-

³⁰ For example, Manuel Tejerizo, *La patria de Colón* (Havana, 1919), who went beyond García de la Riega and denied any connection between "Colón", discoverer of America, and "Colombo", of the Genoese notarial archives. Also, Enrique Zas, *Si . . . ¡Colón Español!* (Havana, 1924), who made a senseless attack on Altolaguirre y Duvalé because that distinguished historian refused to accept Don Celso's arguments.

³¹ *Cristóbal Colón y Cristóforo Colombo* (Madrid, 1921), and "Cristóbal Colón ¿Genovés?", *Bol. R. Soc. Geog.*, LXV (1925), 247-89. It is alleged that Beltrán, just before his death, professed knowledge of a document proving Columbus of Portuguese origin (A. Cortesão, *Cartografia*, I, 231). If so, the secret died with him.

³² "¿Colón Español? Estudio histórico-crítico", *Bol. R. Soc. Geog.*, LXIV (1924), 3-89.

³³ Examples are A. Valero y Bernabé, *La patria del Almirante* (Madrid, n. d.), Alonso de Bustos y Bustos, *La patria de Cristóbal Colón* (Madrid, n. d.), and Prudencio Otero Sánchez, *España, patria de Colón* (Madrid, 1922). These are all "Pontevedra" books, presenting the same argument.

³⁴ "Informe sobre algunos de los documentos utilizados por Don Celso García de la Riega en sus libros 'La Gallega' y 'Colón Español'", *Boletín de la Real academia de la historia*, XCIII (1928), 56. The reference to *La Gallega* concerns a work published in 1897, devoted to the thesis that the *Santa María* was really *La Gallega*, built and owned in Pontevedra.

ments which attest Columbus's Genoese origin.³⁵ The evidence, viewed in its entirety, is overwhelming, and in the words of Almagià, echoed by Altolaguirre, should lay the question to rest forever.³⁶

Recently, however, the Catalan and Portuguese schools of Columbus nativity have stepped into the breach vacated by Pontevedra. Luís de Ulloa, of Lima and Barcelona, facetiously dubbed the "maestro of Catalanization", insists that Columbus was Catalan and furthermore says that his Catalan "Colom" was also the Joanes Scolvus of Larsen's work.³⁷ The name Scolvus appears to have been variously misspelled, one version being Kolonus. Instead of regarding this as a simple error, Ulloa sees proof that the obscure pilot was the renowned discoverer of America. He likewise declares that the true discovery took place in 1477 and was merely repeated by the Catalan voyager in 1492. The date 1477 is adopted to coincide with the supposed visit of Columbus to Iceland, where, according to Ulloa, he joined Pining and Pothorst in the capacity of pilot. Larsen, who arranged the voyage to suit the schedule of Corte-Real, places it somewhat earlier, but Ulloa, who brooks no opposition, insists on a postponement. After this pre-discovery of America, Colom changed his name from Joanes to Xristoferens, to cover traces of a previous piratical career, and sought royal aid for another expedition. He refused to make known his first journey in order to secure his own future by gaining New World concessions from a powerful government.³⁸ Finally, under the secrecy of

³⁵ Città di Genova. Commissione Colombiana, *Cristoforo Colombo: Documenti e prove della sua appartenenza a Genova* (Bergamo, 1931).

³⁶ Almagià, "Cristoforo Colombo cittadino genovese", *Boll. R. Soc. Geog. Ital.*, LXIX (1932), 164-69; Altolaguirre, "Colombo", *Bol. Acad. Hist.*, C (1932), 27-34.

³⁷ *Christophe Colomb, Catalán* (Paris, 1927); *El pre-descubrimiento hispano-catalán de América en 1477: Xristoferens Colom, Fernando el Católico y la Catalunya española* (Paris, 1928). Ulloa's Catalan works include *Cristófor Colom fou Català: La veritable gènesi del descobriment* (Barcelona, 1927) and *Noves proves de la Catalanitat de Colom* (Paris, 1927). For a scathing review of the Ulloa thesis see Magnaghi, "El inicuo Vespucio", *Rivista geografica italiana*, XXXVI (1929), 101-104; the title was inspired by some accusations hurled at Vespucci by Ulloa.

³⁸ In an article, "La genèse de la découverte de l'Amérique d'après des documents récemment retrouvés: La pré-découverte faite par Colomb en 1477", *Géographie*, XLIX (1928), 252-80, Ulloa goes further than in any of his books. He here claims that Scolvus, or Colom, son of a Catalan corsair, went to Greenland with Pining and Pothorst, left their company and voyaged in his own ship down the United States coast, visited Florida, explored Española, and sailed directly across the Atlantic to Europe. Columbus thus himself becomes the "unknown pilot" so often discussed. The "documents récemment retrouvés" turn out to be nothing startling; in fact they seem to have little bearing on Ulloa's subject.

the confessional, he informed Father Juan Perez at La Rábida of his past and thus enlisted the aid of the powerful priest, which proved so efficacious. The Catalan nationality is deduced from such stray items as the form of the name (Colón=Colom or Colomo), the coat of arms later adopted by the admiral, Catalan-sounding titles bestowed on American territories (Jamaica=Jaume), and traces of the influence of Raymond Lull on the geographical ideas of Columbus. Ulloa's Catalan crusade, begun and sustained almost unaided, has aroused by no means the interest once felt in the Galician movement because documentary evidence, even forged, is lacking and because the exposure of one fraud has bred increased skepticism regarding other novel theories.³⁹

The Portuguese claims⁴⁰ are on a par with those of Catalonia and perhaps even surpass them in originality. Two recent works have demonstrated to the satisfaction of Portuguese enthusiasts that Columbus was of Lusitanian birth.⁴¹ Foreigners have paid little attention to such pronouncements, which display merely a certain adeptness at warping evidence in the interest of nationalistic prejudice.

The failure of all efforts to expatriate Columbus re-establishes the conclusions reached long ago by Henry Vignaud concerning his early life and career.⁴² It is unlikely that these will ever again be seriously

³⁹ The lengths to which such "reasoning" can go are illustrated by the Catalan, R. Carreras i Valls, who adopts John Cabot as a compatriot (*La descoberta d'Amèrica: Ferrer, Cabot i Colom*, Reuss, 1928). Carreras finds a document showing that in 1512 there entered Barcelona, in command of a merchant ship, one *Joan Cabot Catalan e Barcelones* and is instantly convinced that here is Henry Tudor's voyager, despite strong evidence that the discoverer Cabot was drowned in 1498. The lone document is the basis of a book which Ulloa heads with a preface, "En marcha hacia la verdad histórica". Magnaghi, commenting on the book in an article, "La «Catalanitat» di Caboto", *Cultura*, VIII (1929), 216, writes, "noi stessi, del resto siamo subito costretti a riconoscere che nella *lucha* la *verdad* finisce per aver lo peggio, e che il Señor Carreras la riduce a sua mercè".

⁴⁰ Summarized by A. Cortesão, *Cartografia*, vol. I, ch. 4.

⁴¹ Pestana Junior, *D. Cristóbal Colón ou Symam Palha na história e na cabalha* (Lisbon, 1928), and G. L. Santos Ferreira and Antonio Ferreira de Serpa, *Salvador Gonsalves Zarco [Cristóbal Colón]* (Lisbon, 1930). Pestana Junior attains perhaps a new mark in originality by adding that Columbus remained loyal to Portugal through life and was the agent of King John II, even in the discovery of the Indies, the object of which was to distract Ferdinand and Isabella while the Portuguese rounded the Cape and reached India. In fact John even helped to finance the expedition!

⁴² *Études critiques sur la vie de Colomb avant ses découvertes* (Paris, 1905). Vignaud was greatly indebted to Alberto Salvagnini, "Cristoforo Colombo e i corsari Colombo suoi contemporanei", *Raccolta Colombiana*, pt. II, vol. III (Rome, 1894), 129-248. Since these biographical details are generally known, they may be briefly summarized:

1451 Born at Genoa.

1474-75 Voyaged to the Levant with di Negro and Spinola.

questioned. Several of the traditional occurrences associated with the youthful Columbus are now known to have been utterly impossible. These include the mythical voyage to Iceland,⁴³ the expedition to Tunis in the service of René of Anjou,⁴⁴ and the alleged exploits as a corsair.⁴⁵ In view of the repeated expositions of the absurdity of these imaginary episodes, it is surprising that belief in them still exists in some quarters. At one time it was difficult to explain the legends other than on the assumption that the admiral later circulated falsehoods concerning his own youth. It now appears more likely that he was the innocent victim of biographers intent upon enchancing his reputation. The list of possible culprits seems to be reduced to Ferdinand Columbus, Las Casas, and Luis de Colón, with Ferdinand now virtually eliminated.

The unsolved mystery of the Toscanelli correspondence still confronts the Columbus investigator. Henry Vignaud labored for twenty years to prove it an outright forgery and failed to convince most scholars.⁴⁶ His arguments, however, caused a widespread belief that Toscanelli wrote the Latin letter to a third party, probably Fernam Martins of Lisbon, and that Columbus, somehow securing the docu-

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- 1476 Arrived in Portugal after the sea battle off C. St. Vincent.
 - 1477 Visited England (not Iceland).
 - 1478 Settled in Lisbon. Employed by the Centurione.
 - 1479 Revisited Genoa for the last time. Appeared in the lawsuit described in the Assereto document.
 - 1479-81 Lived at Porto Santo. Married Filippa Monis de Perestrello. Voyaged to Guinea, probably once.
 - 1483-84 Negotiated with the Portuguese government regarding a discovery voyage. Rejected.
 - 1485 Appeared in Spain.

⁴³ Magnaghi, "I presunti errori", pt. 2, *Boll. R. Soc. Geog. Ital.*, LXV, 553-82.

⁴⁴ This story can be disproved on both scientific and chronological grounds.

⁴⁵ A few writers cling to the ancient belief that Columbus was once a pirate and a companion of the noted French marauder, Guillaume de Casenave, or "Coulon le vieux". This is untrue, and the apparent claim of Ferdinand that his father was related to Coulon is probably a forgery. A recent reversion to the pirate theory is that of Sebastiano Crinò, *Sprazzi di luce riguardante la questione di Colombo corsario* (Rome, 1930). Crinò, in an earlier study, "Leggenda e storia sulla nazionalità di Cristoforo Colombo e sulla scoperta dell' America", *Rivista Marittima*, LVIII (1925), had expressed a contrary view. For this discrepancy Crinò is taken to task by the merciless Magnaghi, "Pirata ad ogni costo", *Cultura*, XI (1932), 538-54, and again, "Chi si rivede", *ibid.*, XII (1933), 411-18. Magnaghi, one of the ablest living Italian scholars, wields a pen as stinging as that of the late Henry Harris.

⁴⁶ *La lettre et la carte de Toscanelli sur la route des Indes par l'ouest* (Paris, 1901), an English version appearing as *Toscanelli and Columbus* (London, 1902); *Histoire critique de la grande entreprise de Christophe Colomb* (2 vols., Paris, 1911); *Le vrai Christophe Colomb et la légende* (Paris, 1921).

ment, used it either in the formation of his plan or in support of his arguments at the Portuguese and Spanish courts. Altolaquirre reasoned that Toscanelli wrote the letter to Martins and that Columbus acquired it, kept his possession a secret, and appropriated the idea contained therein.⁴⁷ Later, when Ferdinand prepared his father's biography, he found the letter in his papers. He included it in the *Historie* but placed the admiral's name above it as the recipient, pretending that the Florentine scientist had sent Columbus a duplicate of the previous one to Martins. Carlos Malheiro Dias, the most scholarly Portuguese investigator of the subject, is in substantial agreement with Altolaquirre.⁴⁸

The Italians have partially abandoned the view of Gustavo Uzielli, champion of "Toscanelli, iniziatore della scoperta dell' America", but still insist that the aged scientist both drew a map and wrote to Martins. Their present contentions, as voiced by Almagià on several occasions, are that Columbus made his plans alone but that meanwhile the learned Toscanelli had thought out the project more concretely and embodied it in the map and letter. Both fell into the hands of the discoverer, whose opinions they confirmed and to whom they were helpful.⁴⁹ Norbert Sumien, who was intimate with Vignaud and a partial collaborator in the first Toscanelli work, apostatized after his friend's death and declared his belief that the Latin letter was basically genuine.⁵⁰ A learned Latinist himself, which Vignaud was not, he agreed that the text discovered by Henry Harrisse in 1871 was too corrupt in spots to be the work of a learned man. It seemed to him that the original had been mutilated by some accident. A reconstruction in more polished Latin convinced him that a clumsy attempt to restore the destroyed portions accounts for the textual deficiencies.⁵¹ Sumien

⁴⁷ *Cristóbal Colón y Pablo del Pozzo Toscanelli* (Madrid, 1903).

⁴⁸ *História da colonização portuguesa do Brasil*, I (Porto, 1921), lxix-cxii.

⁴⁹ Almagià, "Nuovi studi Colombiani", *Bull. Internat. Com. Hist. Sci.*, VII (1936), 454-67; "La nuova storia della scoperta dell' America", *Boll. R. Soc. Geog. Ital.*, LXXIV (1937), 171-82; "Ciò che è definitivamente acquisito", *Bull. Internat. Com. Hist. Sci.*, V, 256-67; and *I primi esploratori*, pp. 62 ff. The older view is still represented by Cesare de Lollis, *Cristoforo Colombo nella leggenda e nella storia*, edited by Almagià (Rome, 1931).

⁵⁰ *La correspondance du savant florentin Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli avec Christophe Colomb* (Paris, 1927).

⁵¹ On the other hand, Dr. José Gonzalo Alfonso, the Buenos Aires Latinist, explains the faulty style as follows: "La supuesta epístola fue ideada en español y por una persona de habla española". Quoted by Cárbia, *La investigación científica y el descubrimiento de América*, p. 39.

agreed with most scholars in regarding the so-called second Toscanelli letter as spurious and a mere résumé of salient points in the first.⁵² These opinions have met with more widespread approval than any previously advanced. While complete agreement on the subject may never exist, the prevalent view is that Toscanelli did write the Latin letter to Martins and that he probably never heard of Columbus.⁵³ The whole matter is perhaps less basic than was once supposed, for past historians doubtless exaggerated the influence of the Florentine upon the Genoese.

The greatest uncertainty exists regarding the education, scientific preparation, geographical conceptions, and maritime proficiency of Columbus. Cecil Jane was inclined to think him illiterate as late as the time of the first voyage.⁵⁴ He points out that statements in the *Historie* and by Las Casas respecting the admiral's early schooling have been found most unreliable. There are no undisputed autographs of his antedating 1492. We have no extant version of the journal of the first voyage in Columbus's handwriting, and the style of the transcription provided by Las Casas suggests that the original was written by a clerk, not from dictation but from general directions. The same could apply to the letter to Santangel describing the discovery. In his negotiation with Ferdinand and Isabella, Columbus let Father Juan Perez handle the last part for him, the part involving reading and writing.

⁵² "Un pastiche que Christophe Colomb a fait de la lettre d'envoi et de la lettre à Martine, pour pouvoir montrer et accrediter la carte de Toscanelli sans avoir à en faire la provenance réelle, sans avoir surtout à révéler le détour qu'elle avait fait avant de venir en sa possession". *La correspondance*, p. 61. Almagià agrees: "essa non contiene, del resto, nessun elemento nuovo e ci apparirebbe come una lettera ben povera ed insulsa, se fosse da considerare come una risposta ad una ulteriore richiesta di delucidazione sul progetto". *I primi esploratori*, p. 63.

⁵³ Account must be taken of Cárbia's emphatic denial of any letter by Toscanelli (*La nueva historia del descubrimiento de América*). Cárbia thinks that Las Casas invented the Latin letter appended to the *Historia rerum*, as well as the Spanish version in the *História de las Indias*, and in composing it did no more than to garble and reword the proposal of Hieronymous Munzer to John II in 1493 for a westward voyage. The attribution of authorship to Toscanelli was a random step; any well-known scientist of the period would have served the purpose. Las Casas, according to Cárbia, intended to help the Colón heirs in their litigation with the crown, when the admiral's deeds were being minimized. So he rewrote his *História de las Indias*, giving a different version of the Columbus enterprise. Since it was desirable to show that Columbus had consulted a learned man in preparing for his life work, the pseudo-Toscanelli letters were invented. The Cárbia thesis is interesting, but it seems wisest to suspend judgment until the appearance of a promised three-volume work which is to expound it fully.

⁵⁴ "The Question of the Literacy of Columbus in 1492", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, X (1930), 500-16.

But in later years he wrote so voluminously as to occasion comment and even ridicule; a plausible explanation is that he was vain of his new accomplishment and anxious to make a display of learning.⁵⁵ Many have noted the peculiar fact that nearly every book Columbus owned seems to have been read after 1492.⁵⁶ This is negative evidence, and Jane, though strongly inclined to the theory of Columbus's illiteracy, wisely refrained from insisting on it. A wholly unlettered discoverer, however, would comport with his opinion that it is idle to seek any definite scientific basis for the first voyage since it was a feat belonging in the field of religious mysticism rather than in that of science.⁵⁷ Though Jane's opinion is worthy of consideration, it will scarcely gain general acceptance. The religious motive may serve as an important key to the character and career of Columbus, but it cannot furnish the sole explanation. In the opinion of various competent authorities, Columbus had the essentials of his craft as a navigator⁵⁸ and also possessed the "sens marin",⁵⁹ a gift which is innate but which can be augmented by study and experience. His first voyage and return show evidence of careful planning and a somewhat trained mind; his ability to cope with wind and tide was often remarkable.⁶⁰ The errors formerly attributed to him in the handling of nautical instruments have been satisfactorily explained.⁶¹ For years Columbus had served the

⁵⁵ If Columbus became literate after 1492, it would explain why all his writings are in Castilian or Latin and why he never used his mother tongue in corresponding with Italians, a point on which the "Colón Español" enthusiasts based so much. The simple truth may be that he never learned to write Italian. Columbus was always reluctant to sign his name. Jane suggests that he began with an X and developed it to the familiar cipher which has caused so much speculation. The most important part of the mysterious cipher may be the simple X, which Columbus might have preferred to an immature signature.

⁵⁶ E. G. R. Taylor, "Idée fixe—the Mind of Columbus", *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, XI (1931), 300.

⁵⁷ *Select Documents illustrating the Four Voyages of Columbus*, vol. I (London, Hakluyt Society, 1930), Introduction, "The Objective of Columbus", pp. xv-cl. The opinion of Jane is that the objective of the first voyage was not precise, that Columbus had a definite conception of a religious mission and a vague one of lands to be discovered across the ocean.

⁵⁸ Jean Charcot, *Christophe Colomb vu par un marin* (Paris, 1928); Magnaghi, "I presunti errori", *Boll. R. Soc. Geog. Ital.*, LXV, 553-82; George E. Nunn, *The Geographical Conceptions of Columbus* (New York, 1924); Almagià, "Ciò che è definitivamente acquisito", *Bull. Internat. Com. Hist. Sci.*, V, 256-67.

⁵⁹ Charcot's expression, and he is a distinguished polar explorer.

⁶⁰ Nunn, *Geographical Conceptions*, ch. 2.

⁶¹ Magnaghi, "I presunti errori", *Boll. R. Soc. Geog. Ital.*, LXV, 553-82; *id.*, "Ancora dei pretesi errori di Colombo nella determinazione delle latitudine", *ibid.*, LXVII (1930), 497-515.

Centurione in fairly responsible positions; he had traveled far more widely than the average man of his day, even before 1492; and, above all, he could impress learned people. It is hard to picture him as either an illiterate or a religious visionary.

The most debatable Columbus question relates to the aims and geographical concepts held by the admiral at different periods of his life. Vignaud insisted that the objective of the first voyage was the discovery of Antillia and other islands believed to lie westward in the Atlantic, and he was much interested in the story of the unknown pilot, or Alonso Sanchez de Huelva.⁶² Only after reaching the West Indies, according to Vignaud, did Columbus give much thought to Marco Polo's Cipangu or Cathay, though thereafter he was to concern himself chiefly with Asia. While the pilot story cannot be taken seriously, and while the whole Vignaud argument seems too extreme, many now believe that the Atlantic islands were the primary objects of the 1492 voyage and that Asia was but secondary and in the background.⁶³

Charles de la Roncière of the Bibliothèque nationale, the historian of the French navy, offers a modified version of the Vignaud theory. His contentions are based chiefly upon the now famous anonymous portolan with an inset world map, which he found in the Bibliothèque in 1924 and which he believes to have been made by Columbus.⁶⁴ Though others had previously inspected the map without attaching any particular importance to it, La Roncière insisted and still insists that it was drawn by the discoverer or under his direct supervision between 1488 and 1492. A fair reproduction of the African coast to the Cape of

⁶² See especially *Toscanelli and Columbus*, and *Histoire critique de la grande entreprise de Christophe Colomb*. For a very positive account of the shadowy Sanchez see William G. Nash, *The True Story of the Discovery of America* (London, 1924). Nash, after much vilification of Columbus, insists that Sanchez must be enthroned as the discoverer of America and that Columbus stole his glory.

⁶³ Some remain uninfluenced by Vignaud's work. Edmond Buron, translator (into French) and editor of the *Ymago Mundi* by Pierre d'Ailly (3 vols., Paris, 1931), in his introduction expresses belief that Columbus had the *Ymago* in his hands by 1480 and that this inspired him to seek the East by a westward voyage. For a résumé by Buron of his views see "La part de Pierre d'Ailly dans la découverte de l'Amérique", *Géographie*, LVI (1931), 3-21. Nunn, "The Imago Mundi and Columbus", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XL (1935), 646-61, differs with Buron, maintaining that the *Ymago* had little if any influence on the first voyage. Almagià, "Pietro d'Ailly e Cristoforo Colombo", *Riv. Geog. Ital.*, XXXVIII (1931), 166-69, calls Buron's claim a trifle exaggerated, "un po esagerata".

⁶⁴ *La carte de Christophe Colomb* (Paris, 1924). Reproductions of the map appear in this work and also in *La découverte de l'Afrique au moyen âge*, Vol. III.

Good Hope and the absence of any trace of the New World would at first glance appear to make the dating of the map a schoolboy exercise, but experience has shown that in renaissance cartography the obvious does not always suffice. As for the Columbus characteristics of the map, the draftsman appears to have shared some of the geographical misconceptions of the discoverer⁶⁵ and evidently made use of the *Ymago Mundi*, which La Roncière rather inconsistently calls the "Livre de chevet de Colomb".⁶⁶ There is a representation of Antillia,⁶⁷ accepted by La Roncière as the major objective of the first voyage. Similarities of expression and of geographical content exist between legends on the portolan and postils by Christopher and Bartholomew Columbus in books which they annotated. La Roncière finds reason to suppose that the map was drawn either at Granada or Santa Fé at the time of the Capitulations; this leads him to believe that it was used in explaining the projected voyage to the Catholic sovereigns. Even if this map could be definitely established as the work of Columbus, the question of whether Antillia or Asia was the goal of the first expedition would not be altogether settled. It would seem to follow, however, because no large land body is depicted on the world map between Europe and the Far East, that the Columbus enterprise had two parts, first the search for islands and later the voyage to Asia. Marked differences exist between this map and reconstructions of the Toscanelli map by Wagner and Kretschmer, based on Behaim, and hence acceptance of La Roncière's claims would strengthen the Vignaud case.

A few scholars, chiefly French, have accepted the La Roncière map as the work of Columbus, but the majority have rejected it.⁶⁸ They hold that the finder has greatly exaggerated the importance of a map which differs in no fundamental way from others of the period. La Roncière returned to his arguments on several occasions but lost rather

⁶⁵ Such as confusing the Faroe Islands (Frisland) with Iceland. This presupposes that Columbus's statements about Iceland are not forgeries.

⁶⁶ "Le livre de chevet et la carte de Christophe Colomb", *Revue des deux mondes*, V (Sept. 15, 1931), 423-40. The inconsistency lies in the fact that if Columbus had been guided by the *Ymago* to the extent that La Roncière assumes, he would not have conceived a western voyage chiefly in terms of Antillia.

⁶⁷ Though in too northerly a position to coincide with the route Columbus actually took.

⁶⁸ Albert Isnard, "La carte prétendu de Christophe Colomb", *Revue des questions historiques*, CII (1925), 317-35; CIII (1925) 297-321; Altolaguirre, "La carta de navegar atribuida a Cristóbal Colón", *Bol. R. Soc. Geog.*, LXV (1925), 325-41; Cesare de Lollis, "La carta di Colombo", *Cultura*, IV (1925), 289-97; Nunn, "A Reported Map of Columbus", *Geog. Rev.*, XV (1925), 688-90.

than gained supporters.⁶⁹ Several who were at first enthusiastic turned skeptical on closer examination of the portolan.

Evidence in favor of the Antillia thesis recently appeared in an unexpected quarter. Professor A. Deissman, while engaged in research at Istanbul in 1929, found a fragment of a Turkish world map, evidently made about 1513.⁷⁰ It is the work of one Piri Re'is, a Mediterranean corsair, and there is reason to believe that a portion of the transatlantic section was copied from a map made by Columbus after his first voyage. Piri Re'is and his uncle, Kemal Re'is, captured seven Spanish ships off Valencia in 1501, and it was doubtless on that occasion that the Columbus map, or a copy, fell into Turkish hands. Legends written by the piratical cartographer say that Columbus was Genoese, an interesting confirmation if additional proof were needed, and also that he had read a book "which states that the western sea has an end, that on the side of the sunset there are coasts and islands and many kinds of mines, and also a mountain of precious stones".⁷¹ On the whole, Piri Re'is furnishes confirmation of the Vignaud theory, but it is also worthy of note that the island of Haiti on the Piri Re'is map resembles Martin Behaim's Cipangu in contour. This interesting Turkish document may have something important to add to our knowledge of Columbus, but it must be used with extreme caution since its compositor had no personal connection with the American voyages and acquired his limited information at second hand.

Proceeding from the earlier to the later geographical beliefs of Columbus, we find ourselves on much firmer ground. The progress of the voyages themselves, studied in connection with the admiral's numerous writings, furnishes the best key. An interesting series of monographs by the American Columbiist, George Emra Nunn, has greatly contributed to the clarification.⁷² The first two voyages, between which but a few months elapsed, did not suffice to give the discoveries definite shape in Columbus's mind. On the third expedition, however, Columbus encountered the South American mainland, which

⁶⁹ "Une carte de Christophe Colomb", *Rev. Quest. Hist.*, CII (1925), 27-41; *La découverte de l'Afrique au moyen âge*, Vol. III.

⁷⁰ P. Kahle, "Impronte Colombiane in una carta turca del 1513", *Cultura*, X (1931), 775-85; *Die verschollene Columbus-Karte in einer türkischen Weltkarte von 1513* (Berlin, 1933); "A Lost Map of Columbus", *Geog. Rev.*, XXIII (1933), 621-38.

⁷¹ *The Ymago Mundi?*

⁷² *The Origin of the Strait of Anian Concept* (Philadelphia, 1929); *The Columbus and Magellan Concepts of South American Geography* (Glenside, 1932); *The Mapped monde of Juan de la Cosa* (Jenikintown, 1934).

he identified with Marco Polo's "greatest island of the world", lying southeast of Asia, "with a general contour of the Ptolemy-Marco Polo-Behaim type".⁷³ On the fourth expedition, coasting Central America, Columbus heard of the Pacific Ocean, which to him became the *Sinus magnus*, or Indian Ocean, of Ptolemy. His theory at that time called for a passageway through the land strip of Central America, but the remainder of the voyage failed to reveal such a strait. Then the Columbus brothers, who held the same ideas, changed their minds and thought that South America was a vast peninsula connected with Asia instead of an island, a somewhat enlarged version of the one which appears on the Behaim globe. The map constructed by Bartholomew about 1506 is a fair representation of their views at the time of the admiral's death.⁷⁴ Magellan adopted this hypothesis and in seeking the strait far to the south was inspired by the Behaim concept of a tremendous peninsula attached to Asia, which he believed he would round by coasting South America. The idea of the southern continent as an appendage to Asia did not cease with Magellan's voyage, since the Pacific was at first considered to be Ptolemy's *Indicum mare* with an eastward extension even greater than was previously suspected. The globe gores attributed to Johann Schöner and commonly dated 1523 show an attempt to reconcile Magellan's discoveries with Columbus's ideas.⁷⁵

It seems furthermore that Columbus was not so far behind some of his contemporaries in appreciating the nature of his discoveries as was once supposed. Jane shows that on the second voyage, despite the solemn oath required of the seamen, he did not necessarily feel sure himself that Cuba formed part of the Asiatic mainland.⁷⁶ Meanwhile Nunn dispels the belief that Juan de la Cosa knew of Cuba's insular character in 1500 by proving that his world map bearing that date is

⁷³ Nunn, *Origin of the Strait of Anian Concept*, p. 4, and *Columbus and Magellan Concepts*, p. 37.

⁷⁴ John Bigelow, in his article, "The So-Called Bartholomew Columbus Map of 1506", *Geog. Rev.*, XXV (1935), 643-56, raises some objections to this map as a guide to Columbus geography, holding that the version we have is a revision made by one Alessandro Zorzi some twenty years later. No great attention seems to have been paid to Bigelow's contention.

⁷⁵ Nunn, "The Lost Globe Gores of Johann Schöner", *Geog. Rev.*, XVII (1927), 476-80; Edward Heawood, "The World Map before and after Magellan's Voyage", *Geog. Jour.*, LVII (1921), 431-46.

⁷⁶ "The Opinion of Columbus concerning Cuba and the 'Indies'", *Geog. Jour.*, LXXIII (1929), 266-70.

really a revision made not earlier than 1508, when the truth had been demonstrated by Ocampo.⁷⁷

Barring a few scattered documents, we know little of the years Columbus spent in Spain before 1492. Nothing is known of his second sojourn in Portugal, which was probably brief, except that he evidently revisited Lisbon in 1488 and witnessed the return of Bartolomeu Dias from the Cape of Good Hope. Almagià suggests that Columbus then learned of the Toscanelli letter to Martins and procured it for himself.⁷⁸ Jose de la Torre y Cerro has recently produced some new and interesting documents concerning the family of Beatriz Enriquez de Harana, mother of the admiral's second son, Ferdinand. His explanation of the amorous episode makes it appear less discreditable to Columbus than some have supposed was the case. The character of Beatriz, who seemingly bestowed her favors too freely, was not such as to win the lasting devotion of either her famous lover or their son.⁷⁹

Cecil Jane, at his death, left an unfinished study of the negotiations with the Catholic monarch.⁸⁰ Like many other scholars, he distrusted Columbus's own accusations, as contained in Las Casas's works and sundry letters, regarding the reasons for delay and opposition to his plan. Those unacquainted with the sources are unaware that this whole subject is obscure and that the encrustation of legend and fable has nearly obliterated what real information exists. Full details of the conferences and negotiations culminating at Santa Fé will never be known, but Jane has dispelled the ancient and vulgar belief that the years of waiting were due to the ignorance and perversity of the Castilian court. Columbus suffered from a persecution complex, a fact which no one who reads his letters can doubt. The most logical explanations of the delay are the obvious ones: the war with Granada and the hard bargain Columbus was determined to drive.

The part played by the Pinzon brothers in the discovery has been magnified, particularly by Spanish writers, since the resurrection of

⁷⁷ *The Mappemonde of Juan de la Cosa*. Nunn's study reveals the extant version as a revision made not earlier than 1508, whereas the map legend preserves the date 1500, the year of the first draft.

⁷⁸ *I primi esploratori*, pp. 62 ff.

⁷⁹ *Beatriz Enriquez de Harana y Cristóbal Colón* (Madrid, 1933).

⁸⁰ *Select Documents illustrating the Four Voyages of Columbus*, Vol. II (London, Hakluyt Society, 1932), Introduction, "The Negotiations with Ferdinand and Isabella", pp. xiii-lxxv. Enough was written to show the nature of Jane's opinions. Professor E. G. R. Taylor supplements the unfinished introduction with an excellent brief study, "Columbus and the World Map", pp. lxxvi-lxxxiv.

the *Pleitos de Colón* and their acceptance as important historical documents. Rómulo Cárbia at present goes so far as to insist that the *Pleitos* are the only true sources, which must supersede Las Casas and the admiral's own writings.⁸¹ They consist largely of the testimonies of seamen and other participants in the early voyages, some of them companions of Columbus. Many of the statements are strongly ex parte, coming from witnesses produced by the crown in its suit with the Colón heirs, when the object was to belittle the achievements of Columbus and exalt the role of Martín Alonso Pinzon. While it is certain that the latter and his brothers were useful at Palos in securing crews for the *Santa Maria*, the *Niña*, and the *Pinta*, it may be suggested that the line of reasoning which awards them and Juan de la Cosa the real management of the expedition has gone entirely too far.⁸² Martín Alonso's conduct on the voyage can by no explanation be construed as commendable, while the incident of the mutiny aboard the *Santa Maria*, in which the Pinzons seemed to overshadow the commander, has probably been misunderstood and exaggerated.⁸³

Attempts to produce a full list of names of those who sailed the three ships were made by Martín Fernandez de Navarrete, Fernandez Duro, Nicolas Tenorio, and Vignaud, no two lists being exactly the same. These earlier efforts have now been rendered obsolete by Miss Alicia B. Gould y Quincy, an American scholar resident in Spain, who has made the most exhaustive and certainly the most accurate study of all. She has corrected the work of her predecessors and utilized every type of evidence. The list she gives is beyond doubt the most satisfactory one that can be produced.⁸⁴

⁸¹ At the Twenty-sixth International Congress of Americanists at Seville in October, 1935, Cárbia threw the meeting into an uproar by proposing a resolution to the effect that "a new history of the discovery of America should be undertaken on the basis of the elements of information contained in the *Pleitos de los Colón* . . ." and that Ferdinand Columbus's work should be declared apocryphal and that of Las Casas unreliable. He distributed a lithograph entitled *El problema del descubrimiento de América desde el punto de vista de sus fuentes*. Almagià, "La nuova storia della scoperta dell' America", *Boll. R. Soc. Geog. Ital.*, LXXIV (1937), 172. Verbal reports of the meeting that have reached the present writer agree with Almagià's statement that Cárbia created a sensation.

⁸² This seems to arise largely from a patriotic Spanish impulse to deprive the Genoese foreigner of credit.

⁸³ Charcot maintains it was not serious, merely the conventional sailors' grumbling to be encountered on every long voyage (p. 141). The intervention of the Pinzons and Martín Alonso's threat to hang a few seamen was probably not the grim affair that a too literal interpretation of the document would suggest. Allowance should be made for Andalusian humor.

⁸⁴ "Nueva lista documentada de los tripulantes de Colón en 1492", *Bol. R. Acad. Hist.*, published in eight instalments, Vol. LXXXIV (1924), to Vol. XCII (1928).

Charcot devotes a large part of his *Christophe Colomb vu par un marin* to the navigation problems presented by the first voyage. With some qualifications his work is good, and the author is within his rights in ridiculing the attempts of landlubber historians to deal with a seaman's subject. Many of them, Vignaud included, have made themselves ridiculous by betraying their ignorance of sea life and the intricacies of navigation. For his part, Charcot finds that the reputation of Columbus stands up quite well when his conduct is submitted to a mariner's test. If Charcot, however, has the advantage of being a navigator, he has the corresponding disadvantage of being no historian. This leads to an uncritical utilization of sources, a fault which draws him to some probably erroneous conclusions and deprives the study of the definitive value it might otherwise have had.⁸⁵

At least five Bahama islands have been suggested as the landfall of Columbus, some as the result of hasty judgments and others following careful study. Those considered are Cat, Watling, Grand Turk, Mari-guana, and Samana islands. It is now impossible to prove which, if any, of the five was Guanahani, but opinion has generally favored Watling. Lieutenant Commander R. T. Gould, R. N., in what he modestly terms a restatement of an old problem, reviews the evidence and confirms the majority in their choice.⁸⁶ The sources bearing on the subject are scattered and few; the description of San Salvador would ill fit any of the Bahamas today; yet there are probabilities to consider, and these point to Watling. Both the British Admiralty and the United States Navy inclined to Commander Gould's opinion. Glenn Stewart, in his interesting check of the route followed by the fleet from San Salvador to Nipe Bay in Cuba, takes Watling as his point of departure.⁸⁷

The career of Columbus after the first voyage is hardly in the controversial category save for some points already noted regarding his

⁸⁵ Charcot consistently gives Las Casas the preference when his statements conflict with the *Pleitos*, a procedure not always justified whatever the faults of the *Pleitos*.

⁸⁶ "The Landfall of Columbus: An Old Problem Re-stated", *Geog. Jour.*, LXIX (1927), 403-29. Read before the R. G. S., Feb. 14, 1927.

⁸⁷ "San Salvador Island to Cuba: A Cruise in the Track of Columbus", *Geog. Rev.*, XXI (1931), 124-30. This should be read in conjunction with Gould's paper. A similar piece of reconstruction for the second voyage is that of Lucius Hubbard, "Did Columbus discover the Islands Antigua and St. Martin?" *ibid.*, pp. 584-94, in which Hubbard decides that Columbus saw neither island. Professor Samuel E. Morison bases his book, *The Second Voyage of Christopher Columbus from Cadiz to Hispaniola and the Discovery of the Lesser Antilles* (New York, 1939), on sailing experience on the Columbus route. He differs with Hubbard in some respects.

writings and geographical opinions. Most of the research in the Columbus field has been concentrated on the period before 1493. Important contributions are to be expected in the somewhat near future. Columbists will eagerly await the forthcoming work by Cárbia which is to present his revolutionary ideas more fully. Almagià promises a critical study of the *Historie*. Miss Gould y Quincy is known to have accumulated new material on the Pinzons, and it is to be hoped that the current Spanish difficulties will not long retard her useful work.⁸⁸

The definitive biography of Columbus seems relegated to the indefinite future. Recent "lives" of the great navigator are frankly popular in tone. The true Columbian, with a knowledge of the problems and pitfalls awaiting him, shrinks from the biographer's task and confines himself to monographs. The problem of Columbus calls for the efforts of a superscholar, versed in many fields of learning other than history. With the possible exception of Humboldt, the past produced none answering this description. If the future yields one such, willing to devote a lifetime to a single topic, there may someday be a universally accepted history of the discovery of America.

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⁸⁸ This study was completed before the appearance of Professor Morison's "Discovering the Greatest Discoverer", New York *Times Magazine*, Oct. 9, 1938. This is an excellent brief study of Columbus's career and furnishes a common-sense refutation of the extravagances of some recent detractors.

THE FATE OF CONFEDERATE ARCHIVES

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

WHEN Richmond was evacuated by the Confederate government, the archives of the Executive Office were carried away under the immediate supervision of the chief clerk, Micajah H. Clark. At the same time General Lee's confidential dispatches to Jefferson Davis were removed from the executive mansion in the top of a trunk belonging to Davis's secretary, Burton N. Harrison, who had already left the city for the purpose of escorting Mrs. Davis to Charlotte, North Carolina. When the government reached Abbeville, South Carolina, and prepared to dissolve, the boxes of executive records were opened and many of the loose papers destroyed, the intention being to retain only the most valuable. It was found necessary, however, to leave the remaining papers behind in the care of Mrs. H. J. Leovy, the wife of a prominent attorney of New Orleans. The president's letter and message books were transported to Washington, Georgia, where Clark deposited them in "a safe place" after sewing them up in his blankets. Harrison's trunk, containing Lee's confidential dispatches, also had to be left behind at Washington, entrusted to a Mrs. M. E. Robertson, wife of the cashier of a bank and Davis's hostess at that place.¹

Two days later Davis separated from his wagons near Sandersville, Georgia, in order to find and protect the party of Mrs. Davis. The wagons, in charge of Clark and Quartermaster Watson Van Benthuyssen, proceeded on to Florida carrying Davis's baggage. At Archer, Florida, Clark's party learned of Davis's capture and disbanded, after turning over one trunk and two chests to the wife of former Senator

¹ Harrison to Davis, May 24, 1867, Dunbar Rowland, *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist: His Letters, Papers and Speeches* (10 vols., Jackson, Miss., 1923), VII, 547-53; Micajah H. Clark, "The Last Days of the Confederate Treasury", *Southern Historical Society, Papers*, IX (1881), 542-44; Clark to Harrison, Feb. 20, 1866, Harrison Papers, Library of Congress; Clark to Harrison, Feb. 14, 1866, copy in the library of Rollins College, Fla. The two Clark letters are two versions of the same report. The letter of February 14, which contains the fuller account, was presumably not sent but used in drafting the letter of February 20. For the story of the retreat and dissolution of the Confederate government consult A. J. Hanna, *Flight into Oblivion* (Richmond, 1938), which is based upon much fresh material. The writer is indebted to Professor Hanna for assistance on several important points.

David L. Yulee. This baggage was placed in storage at Waldo, Florida, but Union officers soon got wind of what had happened and compelled Mrs. Yulee to reveal its location. The two chests were found to contain private papers of Davis, notably correspondence with Mrs. Davis and various of his relatives. Also included, however, were some official papers, such as the opinions of his cabinet on the terms of agreement of April 18 between Johnston and Sherman. All of the papers were forwarded post haste to Washington, where those of an official character became part of the War Department collection of Confederate archives. Some of the private papers seem to have stuck to the fingers of Stanton and thus ended up among the Stanton Papers in the Library of Congress; the others were returned to Davis in 1874.²

After turning Davis's baggage over to Mrs. Yulee, Clark returned north to look after the safety of the records which had been left behind. At Washington, Georgia, the presence of Union troops deterred him from any attempt to remove Davis's letter and message books. Passing on to Abbeville, therefore, he spent five days destroying papers from the files left with Mrs. Leovy. That lady declined, however, to let him carry away the remaining papers. In the meantime Mrs. Davis seems to have been informed of the safety of one of these groups of records, for in her appeal to Horace Greeley, written on June 22 from Savannah, she referred to the availability of "important documents" which would serve to disprove some of the charges against Davis. After she was allowed to remove to the vicinity of Augusta, she sent to Washington for the letter and message books, and sometime before the middle of December they were carried into Canada in the trunk of her sister, Margaret Howell.³

These records were deposited in a bank at Montreal, where they were examined early in January, 1866, by George Shea, representing Horace Greeley in the movement to insure a fair trial for Davis. After

² Clark to Harrison, Feb. 14, 1866; Rowland, VII, 384-85, 403-405, IX, 450-51, and, for items among the Stanton Papers, VI, *passim*; Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (2 vols., New York, 1881), II, 700; C. Wickliffe Yulee, *Senator Yulee of Florida* (Jacksonville, 1909), pp. 29-30; *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. I, vol. XLVII, pt. III, pp. 651-53, 672. This last compilation is cited hereafter as *O. R.*, references being to Series I unless otherwise indicated.

³ Clark to Harrison, Feb. 14, 1866; Mrs. Dunbar Rowland, *Varina Howell, Wife of Jefferson Davis* (2 vols., New York, 1927-31), II, 464-65; Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America: A Memoir by His Wife* (2 vols., New York, 1890), II, 798; Douglas Southall Freeman, *A Calendar of Confederate Papers* (Richmond, 1908), p. 457.

being released, Davis himself went to Canada and during his sojourn there reviewed the records with the thought of writing a history of the Confederacy. At a later date they were brought back to the United States and used by him in preparing his *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*.⁴

The papers left behind with Mrs. Leovy at Abbeville were conveyed by that lady in a coffee sack to her home in New Orleans and thence to her country place at Pass Christian. There they were recovered by Harrison upon his release from prison and shipped to New York, where Harrison settled down to learn and practice law. His trunk, left behind at Washington, Georgia, was also sent to him at New York by Mrs. Robertson. For several years the trunk and box were kept in a warehouse.

In 1870 Harrison was induced to entrust both to the care of another southern lawyer, then residing in Brooklyn, Colonel Charles C. Jones, with the understanding that the latter might examine the papers for his own amusement. Jones, who had some reputation as a historian and larger ambitions in that direction, was unable to resist temptation. In 1876 he published one of Lee's dispatches to Davis. This came to the attention of Davis, who had just begun work upon his history, and in 1877 he sent his assistant, Colonel W. T. Walthall, to retrieve all the papers supposed to be in Harrison's keeping. Jones failed to return Lee's dispatches, claiming that they had not been among the papers entrusted to him. He claimed, further, that the letter he had published had been borrowed from an unnamed person in Richmond, although Harrison said that he had seen that letter earlier among the papers in the top of his trunk.⁵

The available evidence leaves little doubt that Jones had removed the whole series of Lee's dispatches. Immediately afterward he returned to his native Georgia, where he soon achieved considerable renown as a historian. As such he found a patron in the Georgia magnate and scholar, G. W. J. De Renne. Eventually Jones sold Lee's dispatches to the latter's heir, W. J. De Renne, also a historian and collector. In 1915 they were published by Douglas S. Freeman, but without his being able to trace their provenance beyond purchase from a "well-known Southern writer". Until very recently the dispatches formed part of the collection of the Wymberley Jones De Renne

⁴ Varina Davis, II, 796-98; George Shea in So. Hist. Soc., *Papers*, I (1876), 321; Rowland, VII, 488-89, VIII, 238.

⁵ Harrison to Davis, May 24, 1877.

Library at Wormsloe, Georgia. In 1938 that library was purchased by the University of Georgia, but at the time of writing it is an unsettled question whether Lee's dispatches are included in the purchase.⁶

The other records which Harrison had deposited with Jones were returned to Davis through Colonel Walthall and used in the writing of Davis's apologia. After his death they were placed by Mrs. Davis, along with the letter books and other papers, in the Confederate Memorial Hall at New Orleans, where all have since remained.⁷

STATE DEPARTMENT

The archives of the Confederate State Department were sent away from Richmond prior to the evacuation. Some of the records were removed at an early date to the Danville Female College, and others were sent away a few days before the evacuation in charge of William J. Bromwell, disbursing clerk of the department. In accordance with instructions, Bromwell picked up the materials at Danville and transported all the records to Charlotte, North Carolina, where the containers were placed in packing cases marked with his own initials and stored in the courthouse. In view of the possibility of a Union raid, he arranged with a Mr. A. C. Williamson for the latter to remove them to the country in case of danger.⁸

This was probably done, for Stoneman's cavalry threatened Charlotte not many days afterward. Moreover, Bromwell later referred to their having been "spirited away by private parties".⁹ In any case the records were recovered by Bromwell after the war and brought to Washington, where they were offered for sale (1868) through Colonel John T. Pickett, a former Confederate practicing law in that city. They were finally sold to the Treasury Department in 1872 under circumstances which have become well known. Eventually, by two trans-

⁶ Rowland, VII, 546-47, VIII, 375, 503; *Dictionary of American Biography*, X, 165; Azalca Clizbee, comp., *Catalogue of the Wymberley Jones De Renne Georgia Library at Wormsloe* (3 vols., Wormsloe, 1931), II, xiii; Douglas Southall Freeman, ed., *Lee's Dispatches* (New York, 1915), pp. xxv-xxxvii. A letter of Professor E. M. Coulter, University of Georgia, to the writer, Dec. 20, 1938.

⁷ Rowland, I, vii, VII, 550; *Confederate Veteran*, VI (1898), 547-48, VII (1899), 299-300. The records in Davis's possession which related to military operations had been copied for the *Official Records*, Davis having given his consent in 1878 (Rowland, VII, 238).

⁸ Bromwell to Judah P. Benjamin, Apr. 5, 1865, John T. Pickett Papers, Library of Congress.

⁹ Affidavit by Bromwell, Sept. 3, 1872, John T. Pickett Papers.

fers made in 1906 and 1910, they were deposited in the Library of Congress.¹⁰

The story of Bromwell's wife having carried the Confederate great seal out of Richmond in her dress on the night of the evacuation seems to have become confused with the story of the records, so that the usual version has the records concealed in a barn near Richmond at the time of the evacuation. This is certainly an error. The barn which insists upon intruding itself into the story was probably the place of concealment chosen by the citizen of Charlotte who had proposed to remove the records "to the country" in case of danger.

The great seal was surreptitiously presented by Pickett, in 1872, to Lieutenant Commander T. O. Selfridge, U. S. N., who represented the government in verifying the authenticity of the records prior to purchase. In 1911 the accessioning of Colonel Pickett's personal papers by the Library of Congress placed the chief of the Manuscripts Division, Gaillard Hunt, in a position to demonstrate that Selfridge must have the seal, whereupon the latter admitted possession and agreed to its sale for deposit in the Confederate Museum at Richmond.¹¹ Much ado has been made about this great seal, although it was not received from the English makers until the very end of the war. Throughout the war the seal actually used was the provisional seal, bearing the words "Confederate States of America, Provisional Government" in concentric circles and in the center a simple scroll carrying the words "Constitutional Liberty".¹² Secretary of State Judah P.

¹⁰ The most important published account of the history of these records, sometimes unfortunately designated as the "Pickett Papers", is an article by Judge Walter A. Montgomery, "What became of Seal of Confederate States of America?" *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, Oct. 15, 1911. Additional information on the circumstances of their purchase by the government is contained in James Morton Callahan, *The Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy* (Baltimore, 1901), ch. 1, and Gaillard Hunt, "The Great Seal of the Confederacy", *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 21, 1912, p. 24. The purchase was made from funds provided in the Sundry Civil Expenses Act of June 10, 1872, *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XVII, 350. The transfer to the Library of Congress is recorded in the *Report of the Librarian of Congress*, 1907, p. 139, 1911, p. 25.

¹¹ William B. Smith, "Recovery of the Great Seal of the Confederacy", *So. Hist. Soc., Papers*, XLI (1916), 23. Of writings on the great seal not otherwise cited, Pickett's pamphlet entitled *Sigillologia: Being Some Account of the Great or Broad Seal of the Confederate States of America* (Washington, 1873) and Thomas J. Semmes, "Seal of the Southern Historical Society and the Great Seal of the Confederate States of America", *So. Hist. Soc., Papers*, XVI (1888), 416-22, alone possess much interest.

¹² See the impressions among the State Department papers in the Library of Congress. On the cutting of this and other Confederate seals see Julius B. Baumgarten in *So. Hist. Soc., Papers*, XXXIII (1905), 188-89.

Benjamin apparently disposed of this seal at the end of the war by dropping it in the Savannah River as the president's party crossed on a pontoon bridge at Fort Charlotte Plantation, South Carolina.¹³

WAR DEPARTMENT

The principal archives of the Confederate War Department were carried away from Richmond by railroad on the night of the evacuation and transported to Charlotte. When the government moved south from that place they had to be left behind in charge of the venerable adjutant and inspector general, Samuel Cooper, who found himself incapacitated for further retreat. Cooper referred the matter of their disposition to General Joseph E. Johnston, who turned them over to Sherman's successor, General Schofield, in order to insure their preservation. They were brought to Raleigh, whence they were shipped to Washington via the coast under the usual pressing instructions from Stanton. There were eighty boxes—enough for two carloads—but some of the boxes contained other material than records, such as captured flags.¹⁴

By no means all the important records of the War Department were included. The principal records of the Quartermaster's Department, in 128 boxes, were captured at Lynchburg, whither they had been removed some weeks previous to the evacuation.¹⁵ Records of the Exchange Bureau are reported to have been turned in at Richmond by its chief, Robert Ould.¹⁶ Two boxes of Engineer Bureau records obtained in some manner by the chief engineer of the Department of Virginia were also turned in there, and a few boxes of papers were collected from the offices of the chief paymaster. Otherwise practically

¹³ Walter L. Miller, "Last Meeting Place of the Confederate Cabinet", in George M. Vickers, ed., *Under Both Flags* (Philadelphia, 1896), p. 234; William E. Earle to Quitman Marshal, Dec. 22, 1888, *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Quarterly*, IX (1908), 55; *O. R.*, atlas, plate CXLIII.

¹⁴ Rowland, VII, 533; Mrs. Susan Leigh Blackford, ed., *Memoirs of Life in and out of the Army in Virginia during the War between the States* (2 vols., Lynchburg, 1894-96), II, 276; Stephen R. Mallory, "The Last Days of the Confederate Government", *McClure's Magazine*, XVI (1900), 103; *O. R.*, vol. XLVI, pt. III, pp. 1158, 1161, vol. XLVII, pt. III, pp. 443, 483, 490-91, 497, 510, 519-20, 533, 842, 848, 853; *New York Herald*, May 27, 1865; *Baltimore Sun*, May 22, 1865. The seal of the Confederate War Department was apparently obtained some weeks later from a safe in the vault of the mint at Charlotte. Cilley to Carter, July 24, 1865, War Records [Office], 23rd Army Corps Papers, The National Archives.

¹⁵ J. B. Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capital* (new ed., 2 vols., New York, 1935), II, 437-55; [Rebel] Archive Office (abbreviated hereafter as R. A. O.), letters received, J, Nos. 20 and 22, The National Archives.

¹⁶ *New York Times*, Apr. 6, 1865.

nothing was obtained at Richmond in the way of archives of the War Department proper, although many local military records were gathered up, notably from the prisons, hospitals, and the offices of the provost marshal, medical director, and departmental commander.¹⁷

There is little doubt that valuable War Department records, which could not be removed, were destroyed by the fire which swept through the city on the morning of the occupation. It has been definitely reported that the records of the Surgeon General, Commissary General, Signal Office, and Army Intelligence Office were thus destroyed.¹⁸ Practically all of the offices occupied by the department, in the so-called Mechanics' Institute and its immediate vicinity, were burned.¹⁹ In the lack of positive evidence, however, it cannot properly be assumed that the missing records of any office were destroyed in this manner. We know, for example, that large quantities of papers from these and other government offices were piled in the streets and intentionally set afire on the evening of the evacuation. For the most part, however, the materials so disposed of were of quite secondary value, such as vouchers, unissued bonds, and unsigned notes.²⁰ On the whole, intensive study of the evacuation greatly impresses one with the way in which the government was able to remove its important archives, either previous to the evacuation or on the night of that event.²¹

¹⁷ R. A. O., letters received, J, Nos. 11-18, 20-25.

¹⁸ Deering J. Roberts, "Confederate Medical Service", in Francis Trevelyan Miller, ed., *The Photographic History of the Civil War* (10 vols., New York, 1911-12), VII, 238; Samuel E. Lewis, "Dr. Samuel P. Moore, the Surgeon-General of the Confederate States", *So. Hist. Soc., Papers*, XXIX (1901), 274; Rowland, VII, 350, VIII, 181, 278; Charles E. Taylor, "The Signal and Secret Service of the Confederate States", *Confederate Veteran*, XL (1932), 341; W. A. Crocker, "The Army Intelligence Office", *ibid.*, VIII (1900), 119.

¹⁹ "Map of a Part of the City of Richmond Showing the Burnt District, Published by William Ira Smith, Proprietor *Richmond Whig*, Apr., 1865", photostat in the Library of Congress, Map Division; *An Official Guide of the Confederate Government from 1861 to 1865 at Richmond* (Richmond, n. d.). The last is an anonymous compilation, apparently published since 1900, which is not very reliable for office locations at the time of the evacuation. Verification of locations at that time is a very involved matter.

²⁰ Jones, II, 466; W. L. Timberlake in *Confederate Veteran*, XX (1912), 119; Joseph R. Haw in *ibid.*, XXXIV (1926), 450; Mrs. Burton Harrison, *Recollections Grave and Gay* (New York, 1911), pp. 211-12; *New York World*, Apr. 8, 1865. The unburned portions of these piles of papers and the contents of the unburned government offices, after being scattered by the rummaging Richmond mob, fell prey to a horde of souvenir hunters as soon as the city was occupied by the Union forces (*Richmond Whig*, Apr. 27 and 28, 1865; Charles A. Page, *Letters of a War Correspondent* [Boston, 1899], pp. 330, 334). That documents deserving publication in the *Official Records* were thus lost is shown by the series of items published in the *New York Tribune*, Apr. 10, 1865; *Philadelphia Press*, Apr. 11, 1865; and *New York World*, Apr. 27, 1865.

²¹ The common impression that the government "escaped" in a single train is in-

The War Department offices whose principal records remain inadequately accounted for are: the Engineer Bureau, Ordnance Bureau, Niter and Mining Bureau, Office of Foreign Supplies, and Bureau of Indian Affairs.²² Various bits of evidence make it seem unlikely that the engineer and ordnance records were all left behind in Richmond to be burned in the fire. Lee's chief engineer has written that the Engineer Bureau records were "said to have been removed" and that some or all of the maps fell into private hands.²³ There is also a telegram of Beauregard's reporting Engineer Bureau records as abandoned at Greensboro, North Carolina, in an open car.²⁴ A few Engineer Bureau records were certainly recovered, quite possibly at Greensboro.²⁵ In the case of the ordnance records it is known that Ordnance Department personnel and property were transported in one of the trains that left Richmond on the night of the evacuation.²⁶ It is also reported that the

correct. The Danville railroad moved many government trains out of Richmond after the necessity for evacuation became known (Mrs. Blackford, II, 276-77; John Leyburn, "The Fall of Richmond", *Harper's Magazine*, XXXIII [1866], 93; John S. Wise, *The End of an Era* [Boston, 1902], pp. 414-15).

²² On the organization of the War Department toward the end of the war see *O. R.*, ser. 4, vol. III, pp. 943-45. Records of the Bureau of War and the Office of the Adjutant and Inspector General constituted the major portion of the archives recovered at Charlotte (*ibid.*, ser. 1, vol. XLVII, pt. III, p. 520). The records of the Bureau of Conscription were apparently associated with those of the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, to which the paperwork functions of the Bureau of Conscription had been transferred when that bureau was abolished by orders of Mar. 29, 1865 (*ibid.*, ser. 4, vol. III, pp. 1176-77; Report of the chief of the R. A. O., Jan. 18, 1866).

²³ T. M. R. Talcott, "Reminiscences of the Confederate Engineer Service", *Photographic History of the Civil War*, V, 270. A small collection of maps preserved by the chief of engineers, J. F. Gilmer, is on deposit in the Confederate Museum at Richmond (Freeman, *Calendar*, p. 486).

²⁴ *O. R.*, vol. XLVII, pt. III, p. 862. The account given in Alfred Roman, *The Military Operations of General Beauregard* (2 vols., New York, 1884), II, 410, according to which the records at Greensboro were those later delivered up at Charlotte, can hardly be reconciled with the contemporary evidence. The main body of War Department records had been at Charlotte at least a week when Beauregard sent his telegram (*O. R.*, vol. XLVII, pt. III, p. 842). The Greensboro-Charlotte railroad had been broken by Stoneman earlier (*ibid.*, vol. XLIX, pt. I, pp. 333-34). Beauregard's recollection of the pillaging of carloads of records at Greensboro is probably correct, however, the confusion being with respect to the time or identity of the records.

²⁵ Trains carrying the stores and other property captured at Greensboro, etc.—including stationery—began to arrive at City Point at about the same time that the two boxes of Engineer Bureau records were turned in at Richmond as already mentioned (New York *Herald*, May 16, 1865). Quantities of stationery were associated with several of the major bodies of abandoned records.

²⁶ Mrs. Amelia Gorgas, "The Evacuation of Richmond", *Confederate Veteran*, XXV (1917), 110; Joseph R. Haw, "The Last of C. S. Ordnance Department", *ibid.*, XXXIV (1926), 450.

chief of ordnance exerted himself to re-establish the offices and functions of his bureau at Danville, to which place machinery for the manufacture of rifles had been removed a month or so before.²⁷ General Gorgas himself has stated that the labors of his bureau closed practically at Charlotte.²⁸ What became of his records can only be surmised.

In an account which constitutes one of the more important sources for the history of the government's retreat an anonymous staff officer states that the records of the War Department were destroyed by installments "at every point on the road", the inference from the context and known circumstances being that the principal destruction took place at or near Charlotte.²⁹ Another witness reports that a great many valuable papers belonging to the Confederate States were destroyed at Fort Mill, between Charlotte and Chester.³⁰ Since most other *fonds* of records are otherwise fairly well accounted for, it is not improbable that the records destroyed were the missing records of the War Department bureaus previously mentioned.

Fort Mill was the first stopping place of the government on the retreat from Charlotte, and it was near the ferry by which the Catawba was crossed. The railroad bridge over the river had been destroyed earlier by Stoneman's cavalry, so that it was not practicable to transport much in the way of freight into South Carolina.³¹ In evacuating Richmond the government had already shown itself ready to burn records it could not carry away, particularly such as related to its business transactions.³² Preservation of the records of the Bureau of War and the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office was obviously important for history, as history was then conceived, while the records of production and procurement agencies such as the Ordnance Bureau, Niter and Mining Bureau, and Office of Foreign Supplies contained little that was glorious or interesting in the battle-dazzled eyes of contemporaries and much that might be embarrassing with respect to business relations and

²⁷ Mallory, *McClure's*, XVI, 104; Haw, *Confederate Veteran*, XXXIV, 450.

²⁸ Rowland, VIII, 332.

²⁹ New York *Herald*, July 23, 1865. For other parts of this account see the issues of July 4, 30, 31, and Aug. 20, 1865. The writer's knowledge of the records destroyed or abandoned was not exact, obviously because he was no more than a casual observer of their fate in the midst of general distress.

³⁰ Mrs. Eugenia C. Babcock in *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy* (2 vols., Columbia, 1903-1907), II, 144.

³¹ Haw, *Confederate Veteran*, XXXIV, 452; New York *Herald*, July 4, 1865; *O. R.*, vol. XLIX, pt. I, p. 556.

³² See note 20 above.

property.³³ General Gorgas, the chief of ordnance, is known to have lingered behind for some days when the government moved into South Carolina.³⁴ Like some other officials, he omits mention of the fate of his records in his postwar commentaries.³⁵ The writer therefore suspects that the Ordnance Bureau records, and probably records of other War Department bureaus, were destroyed at Charlotte or Fort Mill.

NAVY DEPARTMENT

It is generally supposed that the records of the Confederate Navy Department were destroyed in the fire at Richmond.³⁶ Since the secretary of navy occupied quarters in the War Department building, which was burned, it is doubtless true that some Navy Department records were thus destroyed. But since the important records of the president, congress, and all the other cabinet officers were removed from Richmond, it is very improbable that those of the secretary of navy were left behind. Captain William H. Parker, who reported in person to Mallory on the afternoon of April 2, records that "everything was being packed up for carrying off about the departments", while Admiral Semmes states that Mallory "still had the officers and clerks of his department around him" at Danville.³⁷ These are indications that the Navy Department moved in much the same manner as the other departments.

One witness definitely states that the Navy Department records

³³ The records which had been transported earlier to Chester, South Carolina, as hereinafter explained, probably escaped destruction because the government did not pass through Chester in its retreat.

³⁴ Haw, *Confederate Veteran*, XXXV (1927), 16.

³⁵ Rowland, VIII, 308-36. This account of Confederate ordnance operations purports to have been prepared from "notes written chiefly soon after the close of war", which would seem to imply that the records were no longer available.

³⁶ Such is the impression conveyed by the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, ser. 1, vol. I, p. vii, ser. 2, vol. III, preface, p. 15. The Confederate materials in this compilation were mainly obtained from the State Department papers in the Library of Congress and records in private hands which were originally accumulated elsewhere than at Richmond. Only a few scattered papers of the Navy Department came into possession of the Union army in 1865 (R. A. O., letters sent, Book I, pp. 209, 215, letters received, J, No. 22; Office of the Secretary of War, Military Book No. 56, Executive, p. 203 [The National Archives]). In 1926 two boxes of records were reported to have been discovered in the State, War, and Navy Building (*New York Times*, Jan. 31, 1926; *Confederate Veteran*, XXXIV [1926], 124). Actually, the Navy Department had known of these records but had found few if any to be of a nature suitable for publication in the *Official Records, Navies*. How they were acquired is not known (letter of Captain D. W. Knox, Navy Department, to the writer, Jan. 19, 1939).

³⁷ William Harwar Parker, *Recollections of a Naval Officer, 1841-1865* (New York, 1883), p. 350; Raphael Semmes, *Memoirs of Service Afloat* (Baltimore, 1869), p. 817.

were destroyed at Charlotte.³⁸ The writer is inclined to credit this statement, although some other statements of the witness about the destruction of records seem to show an imperfect knowledge.³⁹ The navy yard at Charlotte was the logical depository for the Navy Department records after their removal from Richmond, and the abandonment of this last important naval establishment meant the end of the Confederate naval administration beyond any shadow of doubt.⁴⁰ Reasons for the destruction of the Navy Department records can be found in the attitude of the North toward Confederate naval activities, and it is perhaps not without significance that Mallory makes no mention of the records in his account of the government's retreat written in 1865.⁴¹ There are indications that he was particularly bitter in defeat and inclined to liquidate the Confederacy by destructive measures.⁴² In the opinion of the writer, destruction of the Navy Department records at Charlotte fits into the whole picture of the collapse better than any other supposition.⁴³

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

The more valuable records of the Confederate Treasury Department were removed from Richmond by rail on the night of the evacuation together with the gold and silver of the government and the Richmond banks, all under guard of the corps of midshipmen commanded by Captain William H. Parker, C. S. N. The convoy proceeded to Charlotte, where the treasure was placed in the mint. Within a few days, however, the approach of Stoneman's raiding cavalry caused Parker to

³⁸ Anonymous staff officer in the *New York Herald*, July 23, 1865.

³⁹ See note 29 above. His account reports the destruction of State Department records at Salisbury and of Post Office and Treasury records at Chester. He was not with the president's party at Salisbury and merely passed through Chester on his way south, but he was actually with the government at Charlotte.

⁴⁰ A report of the burning of the Charlotte navy yard may have originated in the burning of records at the yard. *New York Herald*, May 8, 1865.

⁴¹ *McClure's*, XVI, 100-107.

⁴² Cf. Parker, pp. 366-68; Kathleen Bruce in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 225; and the reference to the destruction of naval stores brought to Chester from Charlotte in *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, II, 144.

⁴³ Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record* (11 vols., New York, 1861-68), XI, 528, contains a curious report that the Confederate naval records for 1861 and 1862 were among the contents of some canal boats captured at Buchanan, Virginia, in June, 1864, by Colonel W. W. Averell. The latter's official report (*O. R.*, vol. XXXVII, pt. I, p. 147) makes no mention of such records, but the story is a plausible one. Grant's arrival before Richmond at the beginning of June made it necessary for the Confederate government to think of evacuation, and Buchanan was at the head of the James River and Kanawha Canal, which would naturally be used for the removal of freight.

move southward in search of greater safety. Traveling partly by rail and partly by road, the convoy passed across South Carolina to Augusta. From there it retraced its route to Abbeville, South Carolina, in order to avoid capture by Wilson's cavalry in western Georgia. At Abbeville it encountered the president's column and was relieved of its charge.⁴⁴

After crossing the Savannah, the troops of Davis's escort demanded the distribution of the treasure. To meet this demand the silver coin, and gold coin in amount equivalent to the silver bullion, was distributed, after which most of the troops dispersed. In the lack of a proper escort the remainder of the treasure had to be disposed of in various ways at Washington, Georgia.⁴⁵ The Treasury Department archives also had to be left behind at that place, where they were seized a little later by the Union cavalry. It appears, however, that only fourteen boxes of records were found.⁴⁶ It is to be noted, therefore, that Captain Parker has reported throwing away "books, stationery, and even as we heard the worst news, Confederate money". He adds: "One could have traced us by these marks and formed an idea of the character of the news we were in receipt of."⁴⁷ It is to be noted, also, that the comptroller's records are reported to have been left behind at Abbeville.⁴⁸ In such manner a good many Treasury Department records seem to have been scattered and mayhap lost along the route of the treasure convoy.⁴⁹

A little earlier the fugitive Treasury Note Bureau had been raided at Anderson, South Carolina, by a brigade of Stoneman's cavalry on the trail of Davis. Such records as were found—probably minor ones—seem to have been destroyed or scattered to the winds.⁵⁰ This bureau

⁴⁴ Parker, pp. 348-69; John W. Harris, "The Gold of the Confederate States Treasury", *So. Hist. Soc., Papers*, XXXII (1904), 157-63; John F. Wheless, *ibid.*, X (1882), 138-40; Walter Philbrook in *New York Times*, Jan. 6, 1882; Robert Gilliam, "Last of the Confederate Treasury Department", *Confederate Veteran*, XXXVII (1929), 423-25.

⁴⁵ Clark, pp. 545-56; Rowland, VIII, 113-15; Hanna, pp. 90-92; Otis Ashmore, "The Story of the Virginia Banks Funds", *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, II (1918), 171-97. An executive fund which had been withdrawn earlier at Greensboro, North Carolina, was retained and carried to Florida by Clark and Van Benthuyzen (Hanna, pp. 115-16).

⁴⁶ R. A. O., letters received, W, No. 45; O. R., vol. XLIX, pt. II, pp. 998, 1017, 1032-33.

⁴⁷ Parker, p. 358.

⁴⁸ Rowland, VIII, 64-65. One of the comptroller's record books is in the Library of Congress, being one of the items transferred from the United States Treasury Department in 1920.

⁴⁹ The records of the Produce Loan Office were vaguely reported by its chief to have been "lost or destroyed at the time of the evacuation of Richmond" (A. Roane to Hugh McCulloch, July 27, 1865, John T. Pickett Papers).

⁵⁰ Mrs. Louise Ayer Vandiver, *Traditions and History of Anderson County* (At-

had been removed from Richmond to Columbia in 1864. On the approach of Sherman it was again moved, partly to Anderson and partly to Richmond. The Richmond section was sent off to Anderson a day or so before the evacuation, arriving about the middle of April.⁵¹

Considerable quantities of Treasury Department records were soon recovered at Richmond. The bulk of these were accounts of quartermasters and commissaries which had been on deposit in the Second Auditor's Office and were found boxed up ready for removal. A part of these records had been burned in the streets, but there remained about 157 boxes and barrels. Since almost all the offices of the Treasury Department escaped the fire, a few other records of some value were also recovered, notably the registers of note issues. Along with these records was obtained the seal of the Treasury Department.⁵² Along with the Post Office Department records, recovered as hereinafter explained, were obtained some of the records of the Third Auditor's Office, which had to do with that department.⁵³

The Treasury Department records recovered by the army at Richmond and in Georgia were forwarded to Washington and, for the most part, have since remained in the custody of the War Department. It is practically certain that no significant transfer was made to the United States Treasury Department.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, it is clear that the United States Treasury Department was in possession of a considerable quantity of Confederate Treasury Department records soon after the

lanta, 1928), pp. 235-36, 239-41; *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, I, 373; D. H. Russell, "Last Issue of Confederate Money", *Confederate Veteran*, XXII (1914), 131.

⁵¹ Ernest A. Smith, "The History of the Confederate Treasury", *Southern History Association, Publications*, V (1901), 197 n.; *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, I, 275-86, II, 180-91; Jones, II, 426.

⁵² R. A. O., letters received, J, Nos. 11-14, 16, 20, 24; Jones, II, 466. The offices of the secretary, treasurer, and register were located in the United States Customs House on Bank Street. Other offices were located as follows: the Comptroller's Office, in Arlington House, 6th and Main Streets; the First Auditor's Office, in Clifton House, 14th and Ross Streets; the Second Auditor's Office, in the Monumental Hotel, 9th and Grace Streets; the Third Auditor's Office, in Goddin's Hall, 11th and Bank Streets; the War Tax Bureau, in Richmond House, Ross and Governor Streets; the Produce Loan Office, in the same building (W. D. Chesterman, *Guide to Richmond and the Battle-Fields* [Richmond, 1884], pp. 61-62; *Official Guide*, pp. 2-3). Of all these buildings only Goddin's Hall was burned.

⁵³ Report of the chief of the R. A. O., Jan. 18, 1866.

⁵⁴ Archives Branch, War Department: List of "Property and Papers Turned over to Other Departments and to Individuals", 1865-1882, The National Archives. Only a few cotton and sequestration papers seem to have been transferred to the Treasury Department.

war.⁵⁵ How these records were acquired cannot be determined for sure until certain archives of the United States Treasury Department have been subjected to intensive study and reconstruction. It can be said to be highly improbable, however, that any appreciable part of the collection was received by treasury agents from army officers in the field, for the army had stringent orders to forward all captured records to the War Department and took care to comply with these orders.⁵⁶ It is quite certain that the records in question were not part of the so-called "Pickett Papers".⁵⁷ It is definitely known that the Texas Cotton Bureau records were purchased in 1873,⁵⁸ and it is not improbable that some of the other records were acquired by purchase. Funds for this purpose were not available, however, until 1872, so that purchase can hardly account for the records in custody before that date.⁵⁹ The only satisfactory supposition seems to be that these records were collected by the treasury agencies established in the Southern states after the war. Since a good many of the records were from the archives of Richmond offices, it may be surmised that much of the collecting was done along the route of the fleeing treasure convoy.

In 1920 certain valuable record books from the Treasury Department collection were transferred to the Library of Congress,⁶⁰ but the

⁵⁵ The commissioners of claims wrote in July, 1872, as follows: "During the brief space of fifteen months, in which the commissioners of claims have been examining claims against the government, they have found the papers captured at Richmond, and now in the Treasury Department, under the head of 'rebel archives' of very great value" (*Senate Executive Documents*, 51 Cong., 2 sess., No. 7, p. 6). Their statement that the records were captured at Richmond was apparently an erroneous assumption, for the inventories of records recovered at Richmond do not account for the materials in the collection (*cf.* R. A. O., letters received, J, Nos. 11-14, 16, 20, 24, and Claude Halstead Van Tyne and Waldo Gifford Leland, *Guide to the Archives of the Government of the United States in Washington* [2d ed. rev., Washington, 1907], p. 75).

⁵⁶ O. R., ser. 3, vol. IV, pp. 1258-59; ser. 1, vol. XLVI, pt. III, pp. 896, 944, 1093, vol. XLIX, pt. II, p. 1032.

⁵⁷ The report of the commissioners of claims already cited, which was made at the time of the purchase of the "Pickett Papers", certified that the latter were records of the Confederate State Department corresponding exactly to the original inventory made in March, 1865.

⁵⁸ R. A. O., letters received, R, No. 38.

⁵⁹ The appropriation of June 10, 1872 (*U. S. Statutes at Large*, XVII, 350), amounted to \$150,000, of which \$75,000 were expended for the "Pickett Papers". The Texas Cotton Bureau records were purchased from the same appropriation, as were also certain military records of the Trans-Mississippi Department simultaneously purchased for the War Department.

⁶⁰ *Report of the Librarian of Congress*, 1921, p. 35; Curtis W. Garrison, *List of Manuscript Collections in the Library of Congress to July, 1931* (Washington, 1932), pp. 199-200.

major portion of the collection remained in the Treasury Department, where unfavorable conditions of storage eventually resulted in confusion and inaccessibility. Along with associated Federal materials, however, some of these records have recently been transferred to the National Archives, and the others will probably be transferred in due course. Since the Confederate records preserved by the War Department have already been transferred, it may be expected that the bulk of Confederate Treasury Department archives known to be extant will soon be concentrated in that depository. A few record books, sometimes of first importance, remain scattered in other depositories.⁶¹

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

The most important records of the Confederate Post Office Department were sent away from Richmond in charge of the chief of the Contract Bureau, Henry St. George Offut, and turned over by him to the postmaster at Chester, South Carolina.⁶² A considerable quantity of Post Office Department records was eventually recovered at that place, where they were found abandoned in the cars at the depot. They had probably been run down from Charlotte after Stoneman's capture of Salisbury on April 12. Since it was not until the end of May that a Union officer was sent to Chester, the records were subject to pillage during a considerable period and much scattered about.⁶³

In March, 1866, the War Department transferred all Confederate Post Office Department records to the United States Post Office Department.⁶⁴ In 1896 most of the bound volumes were received back from the Justice Department.⁶⁵ What happened to the records in the meantime is pretty much of a mystery and seems at one time to have

⁶¹ A letters received book for 1862-63, not further identified, formerly in the New York State Library (H. L. Osgood, "Report on the Public Archives of New York", American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1900, II, 110), is believed to have been destroyed by fire in 1911 (letter of Edna L. Jacobsen, New York State Library, to the writer, Jan. 20, 1939).

⁶² John H. Reagan, *Memoirs, with Special Reference to Secession and the Civil War* (New York, 1906), p. 197; Affidavit of Henry St. George Offut, Apr. 6, 1891, mentioned by Van Tyne and Leland, p. 95, and now in the General Accounting Office.

⁶³ *O. R.*, vol. XLVII, pt. III, pp. 564, 610, 631, 659; *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, II, 144; Ruger to Campbell, June 1, 1865, 23d Army Corps records, Book VII, The National Archives. Apparently all of the records were not collected by the officer sent to Chester, for when that town was garrisoned in July records of the Post Office Department were again reported as being at that place (McQuiston to Schofield, July 21, 1865, War Records [Office], 23d Army Corps Papers, The National Archives).

⁶⁴ R. A. O., letters sent, Book I, p. 153.

⁶⁵ Record and Pension Office, letters received, No. 452631, The Adjutant General's Office.

been pretty much of a mystery even to the Post Office Department, for in 1871 it suggested that the captured Confederate Post Office Department records be transferred to it from the War Department, probably much to that department's amazement.⁶⁶ It is obvious that the records were used for the defense of the government against claims, in which activity the Post Office Department, Treasury Department, and Justice Department were all concerned, so that the records may have been bandied about. In 1906 the residue of the original capture was turned over by the Post Office Department to the Library of Congress.⁶⁷

In 1892, with the authorization of Congress, the Postmaster General purchased six record books of the Confederate Post Office Department which had been offered for sale by an anonymous person through attorneys.⁶⁸ According to an affidavit made by Offut and affixed to one of the books, these had been among the records abandoned by him at Chester.⁶⁹ The books were deposited with the auditor for the Post Office Department, in whose office they were found by Van Tyne and Leland.⁷⁰ That office has since become part of the General Accounting Office and now has in its possession only one of the books purchased in 1892.⁷¹ The others have long since been lost.

CONGRESS, ETC.

Many of the more valuable records of the Confederate Congress under the permanent constitution were recovered at Chester along with the Post Office Department records. The journals of both houses and most of the engrossed acts were included, together with other papers.⁷² An appreciable amount of material was also gathered up in the capitol at Richmond, including bills, resolutions, messages, petitions, depart-

⁶⁶ R. A. O., letters received, P, No. 21.

⁶⁷ *Report of the Librarian of Congress*, 1907, p. 139.

⁶⁸ *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XXVI, 1079, XXVII, 148; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 51 Cong., 2 sess., No. 7.

⁶⁹ See note 62 above. Suspicion that the anonymous vendor was F. G. De Fontaine, mentioned hereafter as having appropriated records at Chester, is strengthened by the fact that one of the attorneys was from New York, where De Fontaine resided. One of the books was of such value as a defense against claims that its sale to the government was not likely to endear the vendor to Southern claimants and their sympathizers.

⁷⁰ *Guide*, pp. 94-96.

⁷¹ Item 2 as listed by Van Tyne and Leland. Item 1, which was not part of the purchase of 1892 but a transfer from the War Department, is still in custody. The office also has a letter book of the Confederate first auditor not listed by Van Tyne and Leland.

⁷² *O. R.*, vol. XLVII, pt. III, pp. 610, 631; Hale to Orr, May 30, 1865, Ruger to Campbell, June 1, 1865, and Ruger to Cox, June 3 and June 5, 1865, 23d Army Corps records, Book VII; Report of the chief of the R. A. O., Jan. 18, 1866.

mental reports and estimates, copies of battle reports, etc.⁷³ As for the records of the Provisional Congress, they were recovered by General Wilson's command from one of the classrooms of the University of Georgia upon the information of Howell Cobb, their proper custodian.

The latter records had had an interesting history during the war. To Cobb, as president of the Provisional Congress, had been given the responsibility of causing a certain number of copies of the journals to be made in lieu of publication. The work had been entrusted to the former clerk of the Congress, but he had died. The records were then shipped to Georgia for completion of the work by one John C. Whitners, but various difficulties prevented. When Sherman invaded Georgia, they were moved from Atlanta to West Point, Georgia, and thence to a plantation near Chehaw, Alabama, where they came close to capture. Thence they were moved to Augusta, then into South Carolina to escape Sherman on his march to the sea, and finally back to Athens, Georgia, where they were delivered up to General Wilson.⁷⁴

At a time and for reasons not now known the engrossed acts of the Confederate Congress were sent by the War Department to the Capitol, whence they were deposited in the Library of Congress.⁷⁵ The other congressional records remained in the War Department.

The congressional records captured at Chester were not entirely intact when recovered, for there has been one case of important materials turning up in private hands. Some years ago the library of Duke University acquired the official register of the acts of the Confederate Congress and a considerable number of engrossed acts and resolutions. For many years these records had been in the family of Dr. D. S. Ramseur of Blacksburg, South Carolina, having been purchased from a Professor Turner of a military school at Shelby, North Carolina, soon after the war. They were said to have been found "near Charlotte". Probably they were originally pilfered from the cars at Chester.⁷⁶

An instance of how such records were acquired is on record. When the archives were run down to Chester in April, 1865, a former war correspondent of some prominence, F. G. De Fontaine, was publishing

⁷³ R. A. O., letters received, J, Nos. 17 and 18.

⁷⁴ *O. R.*, vol. XLIX, pt. III, pp. 998-1000, 1032-33; R. A. O., letters received, W, Nos. 44 and 45; *New York Herald*, July 3, 1865.

⁷⁵ *Handbook of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress* (Washington, 1918), p. 72. It may well be that the engrossed acts were consulted in connection with the project for publication of the *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865* (*Sen. Docs.*, 58 Cong., 2 sess., No. 234; 7 vols., Washington, 1904-05).

⁷⁶ Duke University Library, *Bulletin*, No. 3 (1930), p. 6; *Confederate Veteran*, XXI (1923), 274.

a newspaper in that town. According to his story, the quartermaster in charge, in abandoning the records, practically told him to help himself. At any rate De Fontaine went to the depot with a cotton truck and succeeded in carrying off a whole load of stationery and records. Among the records obtained were the provisional and permanent constitutions, the Indian treaties, patent drawings, and a volume containing the official record of opinions of the attorney general.⁷⁷

According to De Fontaine, the Indian treaties were turned over in 1865 to General Albert Pike, former Indian commissioner, from whom they were immediately stolen.⁷⁸ The permanent constitution was sold in 1883 to Mrs. G. W. J. De Renne and has since been associated with the Wymberley Jones De Renne Georgia Library.⁷⁹ At the time of writing it is reported to be in a New York bank with the University of Georgia holding an option for its purchase.⁸⁰ The provisional constitution was purchased in 1884 by W. W. Corcoran of Washington, D. C., for presentation to the Southern Historical Society. It is now in the Confederate Museum at Richmond.⁸¹ The volume of opinions of the attorney general was sold in 1897 to the New York Public Library.⁸²

It is not impossible that other valuable records were included among the materials obtained by De Fontaine and that these were not later mentioned by him for the reason that he had sold them to persons who

⁷⁷ New York *Sun*, Mar. 26, 1883. A variant story, having some errors which were developed in the course of transmission, is given by Ben C. Truman in the *Confederate Veteran*, XVI (1908), 77. According to this version De Fontaine was badly in need of paper for his newspaper and was told by Secretary of Treasury Trenholm to obtain some of the stationery at the depot. This is quite plausible, for Trenholm, being ill, had resigned and left Davis's party at Fort Mill, and his subsequent presence at Abbeville indicates that he probably passed through Chester (Reagan, p. 209; James M. Morgan, *Recollections of a Rebel Reefer* [Boston, 1917], p. 243). De Fontaine's newspaper had been published at Columbia until the burning of that town, whereafter he seems to have resumed publication at Chester (*Charleston News and Courier*, Dec. 12, 1896; Mary Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie* [New York, 1905], p. 377). This would account for the mistaken locale in Truman's story.

⁷⁸ New York *Sun*, Mar. 26, 1883.

⁷⁹ *Catalogue of the Wymberley Jones De Renne Georgia Library*, I, xv, II, 620.

⁸⁰ Letter of E. M. Coulter to the writer, Dec. 20, 1938.

⁸¹ W. Gordon McCabe, "The Original Confederate Constitution", *So. Hist. Soc., Papers*, XLI (1916), 35.

⁸² New York Public Library, *Bulletin*, I (1897), 341. The papers of the attorney general, and of General Braxton Bragg as military adviser to the president, were associated with the executive records left behind at Abbeville and later recovered for Jefferson Davis insofar as they had not been systematically destroyed (Clark to Harrison, Feb. 14, 1866).

did not wish their possession of the items to be generally known. De Fontaine certainly wrung the monetary value out of the two constitutions—while piously regretting that there was no Southern historical society rich enough to purchase them. Eventually, according to his own statement, few of the items originally obtained remained in his possession, most of them having “found their way into the hands of other persons, who are deeply interested in their preservation”.⁸³ In this connection it may be repeated that the records acquired by Duke University and the Post Office Department records bought by the government in 1892 probably had fallen into private hands at Chester.

In his last years De Fontaine undertook to prepare a book which he entitled “Missing Records of the Confederacy”. After his death in 1896 his widow sought to have this published, but her own death apparently prevented, and the manuscript has since been lost to view. Inasmuch as many valuable records of the Confederacy seem to have met their fate at or near Chester, it may have contained information of prime importance.⁸⁴

This article necessarily limits itself to the capital archives, but considerable information is also available on what happened in 1865 and afterwards to the records of Confederate civil and military establishments located away from Richmond, to the records of foreign missions, of army commands, and of the several Confederate states.⁸⁵ Much information on the present location and identity of Confederate records has been accumulated by the Survey of Federal Archives and the Historical Records Survey, although this information has not as yet been co-ordinated. Nevertheless, as a result of the professional archival study now being devoted to both the history and heuristic of Confederate archives it may reasonably be expected that the historical study of the Confederate government and its manifold relations to Confederate life will soon be provided, for the first time, with something approaching an adequate basis of archival knowledge.

The National Archives.

DALLAS D. IRVINE.

⁸³ New York *Sun*, Mar. 26, 1883.

⁸⁴ *Confederate Veteran*, V (1897), 109, 585; Charleston *News and Courier*, Dec. 12, 1896; *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 196.

⁸⁵ Because of their special importance, it may be mentioned here that the records of General Lee's headquarters were destroyed in the burning of a wagon train near Paineville, Virginia, during the retreat to Appomattox (Rowland, VII, 535; Andrew A. Humphreys, *The Virginia Campaign of '64 and '65* [New York, 1883], p. 376; George L. Christian, “General Lee's Headquarters Records and Papers”, *So. Hist. Soc., Papers*, XLIV (1923), 229; *O. R.*, vol. XLVI, pt. I, pp. 1301, 1304).

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

FRÉMONT AND THE NORTH AMERICANS*

INTEREST in the Republican party has tended to obscure the fact that John C. Frémont ran for President in 1856 not only as the Republican but also as the North American or antislavery Know Nothing candidate. The background of this second nomination throws light on the story of the formation of a united antislavery party and furnishes an excellent commentary on the methods of the Frémont managers.

The North American party dates from June, 1855, when the Know Nothings first divided along slavery lines; it achieved a regular organization in February, 1856, just after the South (or National) Americans named Fillmore for the Presidency.¹ The formation of the Republican party cost it many adherents, but in spite of this it was an important force in antislavery politics all through the spring of 1856. The North Americans, far from planning to enter the presidential contest alone, intended to make common cause with the Republicans.² They did not desire, however, to be swallowed by the Republican party, and they hoped that by setting their convention for June 12, five days before the Republicans were to meet, they could dictate the choice of an antislavery presidential candidate.³

This threat was apparent to Republican leaders.⁴ Particularly con-

*In the summer of 1937 Professor Allan Nevins read by request the manuscript of a longer version of this article, entitled "The Frémont Nomination of 1856", which Dr. Harrington had submitted for publication in the *American Historical Review*. Mr. Nevins in his recently published *Frémont, Pathmarker of the West* has incorporated a considerable amount of Dr. Harrington's material here published as well as parts of his longer manuscript not yet published. Mr. Nevins's impression that this material had been published was mistaken, and the reference on page 427 of his *Frémont* to an article by Dr. Harrington on "Frémont and the Nomination of 1856" is incorrect. Acknowledgment to Dr. Harrington will be made in a new edition of Mr. Nevins's book.—Ed.

¹ See the *New York Tribune*, Feb. 27, 1856, for a good account of the North American organization.

² This is made clear in speeches of North Americans, *ibid.* A small minority was opposed to co-operation; a few others desired immediate fusion.

³ S. M. Allen to N. P. Banks, June 12, 1856, Banks MSS., Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts (property of Mrs. Harold Page). The letters to and from Banks which are cited hereinafter are from this collection. *New York Herald*, June 2; and the Boston correspondence, *New York Evening Post*, June 10, 1856.

⁴ Horace Greeley to Schuyler Colfax, May 6, June 1, 1856, Greeley-Colfax MSS., New York Public Library; Isaac Sherman to Banks, May 24.

cerned were the Frémont managers, who had the Republican situation well in hand early in the spring.⁵ If the North Americans nominated some one other than Frémont and the Republicans ratified the nomination, the Pathfinder would of course be lost. If in the same circumstances the Republicans named Frémont, there would be two antislavery tickets, and the Californian's chance of election would be small. If the North Americans nominated Frémont on June 12,⁶ foreign voters would turn against him, and the Republicans might repudiate him.⁷

To save their candidate, the Frémont managers determined to control and manipulate the North American convention—acting through venal delegates or, as they have been called, “bogus Know Nothings”⁸ and through sincere nativists open to persuasion in their desire for antislavery union. So it was that many Frémont men descended on New York as June 12 neared; so it was that \$50,000 was spent in Frémont's interest during the North American convention.⁹

Unfortunately, Frémont's backers differed as to method. A few, discounting the reaction of the foreign voter, wanted the North Americans to nominate the Californian;¹⁰ some preferred to try to break up

⁵ For Frémont's Republican strength see Greeley to C. A. Dana, Mar. 20, 1856, printed in the *New York Sun*, May 19, 1889; James S. Pike, *First Blows of the Civil War* (New York, 1879), p. 322; Andrew Wallace Crandall, *The Early History of the Republican Party* (Boston, 1930), esp. pp. 164 and 166. On February 2, Ben: Perley Poore wrote, “the Republicans will undoubtedly put up” Frémont. *Boston Journal*, Feb. 6, 1856.

⁶ Despite a rumor that he was Roman Catholic, Frémont was popular with North Americans. John B. Floyd wanted him to head a Democratic-Know Nothing ticket (Allan Nevins, *Frémont, the West's Greatest Adventurer* [2 vols., New York, 1928], II, 475-77). Parmalee, editor of Fillmore's personal organ, the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, considered advising Fillmore to withdraw in Frémont's behalf (Isaac Sherman to Banks, Apr. 4, 1856).

⁷ *Boston Reporter*, quoted, *New York Day Book*, June 20, 1856; *New York Evening Post*, June 13, 1856; *New York Tribune*, June 11, 1856; Isaac Sherman to Banks, June 10, 1856; S. M. Allen to Banks, June 12, 1856 (quoting Thurlow Weed). Historians, following James Ford Rhodes, have overstated German pro-Frémont feeling. Rhodes based his judgment on quotations in the *Evening Post* (June 13, 16, 18, 1856), a strong Frémont paper. The *New York Abend-Zeitung* (*Evening Post*, June 16, 1856) said that Frémont was suggested “first of all” by “the German press” i.e., the *St. Charles, Missouri, Democrat*, Feb., 1856; but see the *New York Evening Post*, Jan. 28, 1856, for several earlier, non-German notices. Germans preferred Frémont to McLean, a stronger nativist, but were hardly enthusiastic for him before his nomination.

⁸ Greeley's phrase, to Colfax, June 1, 1856, Greeley-Colfax MSS.

⁹ Thurlow Weed, Edwin D. Morgan, Preston King, E. C. Spaulding and many more were noted by the *New York Herald*, June 16, 1856; the amount of the expenditure is stated in a letter of S. M. Allen to Banks, June 21, 1856.

¹⁰ Allen to Banks, June 13, 1856; Boston correspondence, *New York Evening Post*, June 12, 1856; *New York Herald*, June 11, 13, 1856.

the convention;¹¹ others wanted to persuade the delegates to hold over until the Republicans met.¹² A fourth plan hinged on Speaker N. P. Banks's popularity with the nativists and his loyalty to Frémont.¹³ Isaac Sherman wrote as follows to Banks about this plan on May 24:

Would it not be well to have the K. Nothings nominate you on the 12th of June for President and some Whig like Gov. Johns[t]on of Penn for Vice President and then you decline the moment the Republican convention at Philadelphia has nominated Fremont? Could we not have an understanding of this kind which would . . . give the K. Nothings the nomination of the Vice President? . . . I know that your devotion to Col. F and the cause will prompt you to make any personal sacrifice or I should not make these suggestions to you.¹⁴

This plan had evident advantages: Frémont could win both the Republican and the North American nominations without offending non-nativist Republicans or causing North American voters to feel that their convention had been manipulated. Even before the Speaker had grudgingly given consent that his name be used,¹⁵ a Banks boom had started among the North Americans—managed by ex-Governor William F. Johnston of Pennsylvania, Lieutenant Governor Thomas H. Ford of Ohio, and George Law of New York, all Know Nothings aware of and in accord with the objective outlined in Sherman's letter.¹⁶ Banks's hesitancy made some nativists suspect a trick and caused

¹¹ *Ibid.*, June 11, 13, 1856; Allen to Banks, June 12, 1856.

¹² New York *Day Book*, June 13, 1856; New York *Tribune*, June 11, 1856; New York *Evening Post*, June 13, 1856; O. B. Matteson to Banks, June 11, 1856; Greeley to Colfax, June 1, 1856, Greeley-Colfax MSS.

¹³ George S. Boutwell (to Banks, July 13, 1856) called Banks "the discoverer of Frémont as a Presidential candidate"; see Nevins, II, 475-78; Charles T. Congdon, *Reminiscences of a Journalist* (Boston, 1880), pp. 152-53; John Bigelow, *Retrospections of an Active Life* (5 vols., New York, 1909-13), I, 141-42; Ruhl Jacob Bartlett, *John C. Frémont and the Republican Party* (Columbus, 1930), p. 14; letters in the Banks MSS. For North American enthusiasm for Banks see Edward Joy Morris to Greeley, May 21, 1856, Morris Personal Papers, Library of Congress; Greeley to Colfax, Apr. 24, 1856, Greeley-Colfax MSS.; William Durrin to Banks, Apr. 24, 1856; New York *Evening Post*, Apr. 21, 1856.

¹⁴ Banks MSS.

¹⁵ Boston *Journal*, June 12, 1856; Law, Johnston, and Ford to Banks, Sherman to Banks, June 10, 1856, and draft of a reply.

¹⁶ See the New York *Herald*, June 13, 1856; the speeches of Ford and Johnston, New York *Tribune*, June 14, 17, 1856; and I. Sherman to Banks, June 11, 1856, as evidence that these three men were working for Frémont while booming Banks. Their Banks activities are seen in Sherman to Banks, June 10; Allen to Banks, June 13; H. H. Day to Banks, June 12; and Law, Johnston, and Ford to Banks, June 10, 1856. The lesser leaders of the boom, Day, Allen, and Z. K. Pangborn, were men of limited political experience who really wanted Banks, not Frémont, made the antislavery nominee.

Frémont leaders to fear that the Speaker would withdraw his name prematurely, but the Banks drive continued as June 12 approached.¹⁷

Though still divided among themselves, the Frémont men were in control when the North Americans were called to order. Those favoring dilatory tactics had their way at first; on June 12 and 13 the delegates did little more than make speeches and discuss a letter from the Republican National Committee asking co-operation with the Republican convention. On June 14 balloting began. Frémont influence was apparent: Banks had 43 votes, Frémont 34, and some of the 44 other votes were cast in the Pathfinder's interest.¹⁸ After two more ballots the convention adjourned until Monday, June 16, the day before the Republicans were to meet.

The Frémont men, however, had blundered. Had they forced Banks's nomination on Friday or Saturday, their wirepulling might have passed unobserved; by postponing action, they aroused suspicion.¹⁹ As a result, on Monday a handful of conservative nativists who "believed the Convention to be under influences hostile to American principles" bolted and nominated a separate ticket—Commodore Stockton and Kenneth Raynor.²⁰ The Frémont managers could delay no longer. Banks and Johnston were nominated, a platform was adopted, and a committee was appointed to confer with the Republicans; then the North Americans adjourned until June 19.²¹

The news of Banks's nomination strengthened Frémont at Philadelphia. Many of the assembling Republicans knew why Banks had

¹⁷ Allen to Banks, May 31; Sherman to Banks, June 10, 1856.

¹⁸ Ford and Johnston, apparently desiring to put Banks's nomination off until June 16 (see James M. Stone to Banks, June 14, 1856) voted for McLean. Stockton had 19, McLean 14, Johnston 6, Chase 5. *New York Tribune*, June 16, 1856.

¹⁹ "The trickery of the whole performance is too apparent to be interesting", wrote an Albany journalist; a Boston correspondent observed: "There are long heads at work to prevent, if possible, the injury to Mr. Fremont which a first nomination by this convention would inflict. At the same time, they seek for the American vote for their candidate". Quoted, *New York Day Book*, June 20, 1856.

²⁰ The *New York Commercial Advertiser*, June 17, 1856, gives the best and most sympathetic account of the reasons for the bolt. The *Boston Journal*, June 17, 1856, says that only a dozen left, all but four being New Jersey men; one bolter later said he would not have left had he known Banks would be nominated. The organization of the bolters' convention is amusingly described in the *New York Times*, June 17, 1856; it contained men who had not been delegates to the regular convention.

²¹ *New York Tribune*, *New York Times*, June 17, 1856. Banks was named on the tenth ballot, 53-24 (McLean)-18 (Frémont), with many delegates absenting themselves or refraining from voting. Johnston was nominated on the first ballot. Law was made chairman of the conference committee; there were sixteen other members, including Ford.

been nominated; others were aware that Banks, now in Philadelphia, was predicting Frémont's nomination by the Republicans and intimating that he would support his friend.²² The Frémont leaders were so plainly pleased and confident that they were not disposed to notice the North American conference committee. The Republican convention, Frémont-dominated, refused to treat with that committee until the first (informal) ballot had been taken. After that, when Frémont's nomination was assured and there was no longer any danger of seeming subservient to the North Americans, the matter was taken from the table and referred to the Committee on the Platform. Immediately, however, before a conference could be arranged with the North American committee, a formal ballot was taken, and Frémont was made Republican candidate for President.²³

There remained the vice-presidential nomination, which many Republicans were willing to give the North Americans; and for five hours on that night of June 18 the question was threshed over by the conference committees. Nothing came of the discussions; Banks would not accept a nomination, the Pennsylvania Republicans would not have Johnston, and Ford, formally proposed by the North Americans, was unacceptable to the Republican delegates from Ohio.²⁴ In the end the Republicans passed over the North Americans altogether and, on June 19, named William Dayton as Frémont's running mate.²⁵

Naturally the North Americans were offended and aired their resentment when their convention reassembled; there was talk of backing Fillmore, the Southern Know-Nothing candidate, or Stockton.²⁶ Frémont's managers, however, had not yet exhausted their resources. A group of skeptical North Americans were persuaded to visit Frémont at the Californian's Ninth Street residence in New York during the evening of June 19; and they came away satisfied. The Republican nominee, who had talked to North Americans in very guarded terms

²² *Boston Journal*, June 17, 1856; *New York Tribune*, June 18, 1856; James M. Stone to Banks, June 14, 1856.

²³ See the *New York Tribune*, June 19, 1856, for a detailed account of the convention's reception of the North American overtures. Banks received one vote in the informal balloting.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, June 19-21, 1856. The Pennsylvania and Ohio Republicans who objected to Johnston and Ford were McLean and Chase men whom the Frémont leaders desired to please.

²⁵ Desire to placate the North Americans is seen in the vote cast for Banks (third, with 46, on informal ballot), Ford 7, Johnston 2.

²⁶ *New York Tribune*, June 20, 1856, esp. the report of the Law committee. The Republicans had also ignored platform suggestions of the North Americans.

a week before,²⁷ who had considered sending Ford a letter that would have ruined him with the nativists,²⁸ now gave the promises necessary to secure the support of the North Americans present. He said that he expected Banks to withdraw in his favor but satisfied his guests on points of principle and, personally or through friends, gave assurances that Dayton would be withdrawn in favor of Johnston.²⁹ On leaving, the North American conferees hastened to round up votes. In spite of what had passed, this was not so hard a task, for they had the assistance of Horace H. Day, who, as backer of the Banks movement, had been paying the board bills of a large number of delegates for some days past.³⁰

The next day saw the outcome. When the North Americans assembled, S. M. Allen sought the floor. Obtaining it, he accomplished everything in one swoop—withdrew Banks's name and moved the nomination of Frémont for President and Johnston for Vice-President.³¹ The motion prevailed, and the convention adjourned *sine die*. Frémont was pledged at last.

Commenting on the whole affair, Allen wrote, "this is a strange matter, and has turned out strangely".³² Politicians as astute as George S. Boutwell could not figure out how the result had been achieved, and the average citizen had good reason to be puzzled.³³ For Frémont all

²⁷ New York *Tribune*, June 16, 1856, including a statement of three of the four present. S. M. Allen wrote Banks, June 12, 1856, that Frémont's "answers were quite unsatisfactory to some of them—All he said on Americanism was that 'he sympathized with them and should not appoint foreigners to office.'"

²⁸ Frémont to Ford, June 15, 1856, John Bigelow MSS., New York Public Library. Frémont noted on the back of the letter that it was "retained under advice of Mr. Isaac Sherman & other friends". Nevins (II, 482-83) indicates that F. P. Blair was consulted, but to judge from a letter from Frémont to Blair, June 17, 1856 (Bigelow MSS.), he was not.

²⁹ Allen to Banks, June 21, 1856; Day to Banks, July 4, 1856; Z. K. Pangborn to Banks, June 25, 1856. Pangborn said Frémont's nomination by the North Americans could never have been secured "but for Col Fremont's frank conversation . . . with a few of us and the pledges given, that Mr Dayton's name should be withdrawn from the ticket and that of Gov. Johnston substituted".

³⁰ Allen to Banks, June 21, 1856. This was the price Day, a rubber manufacturer, was willing to pay to become a power in politics. He paid the bills of all of the New England and New York delegates and most of those from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and the territories.

³¹ New York *Tribune*, June 21, 1856. Allen had Banks's authority to withdraw his name. The Speaker composed a long letter of declination, but it reached New York after the convention had adjourned. Draft and Law to Banks, June 23, 1856.

³² Allen to Banks, June 21, 1856.

³³ Boutwell to Banks, July 7, and Jno. Bullard to Banks, August 12, 1856.

was well. Stockton decided not to run,³⁴ Johnston was persuaded to withdraw in favor of Dayton,³⁵ and thus Frémont obtained the support of the overwhelming majority of the antislavery Know Nothings without antagonizing the foreign voters.³⁶ Though the Pathfinder could not defeat Buchanan, the North Americans never reorganized.³⁷ The Republican organization stood consolidated, the only antislavery party in the field.

FRED HARVEY HARRINGTON.

The University of Wisconsin.

³⁴ He accepted at first (*New York Tribune*, June 30, 1856), but electoral tickets were never put in the field.

³⁵ Roy Franklin Nichols, "Some Problems of the First Republican Presidential Campaign", *American Historical Review*, XXVIII (1923), 492-96.

³⁶ There continued to be some dissatisfaction among North Americans (William Gleason Bean, "Party Transformation in Massachusetts . . . 1848-1860", MS. doctoral dissertation, Harvard University Library; Law to Banks, June 23, 1856), but even those who complained backed Frémont.

³⁷ Louis Dow Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York State* (New York, 1901), pp. 182-83, says the national Know Nothing party was broken at the New York convention.

DOCUMENTS

WASHINGTON AND THE PITTSBURGH ROUTE, 1768

A hitherto unpublished holograph letter of George Washington was recently found by the writer in the Thomas Gage Manuscripts in the William L. Clements Library. Dated May 17, 1768, it was sent to John Blair, president of the council and acting governor of Virginia after the death of Francis Fauquier on March 3, 1768. Aside from the value which attaches to any new Washington item, this letter throws light upon an unsuspected phase of Washington's concern with the West, and it corrects an assumption which has been made concerning his interest in the running of the Indian boundary line of 1768.

It was the impending settlement of this line that gave rise to the letter. The document is largely self-explanatory. The Virginia frontiersmen obviously feared that the new boundary might leave a portion of the road from Fort Cumberland to Fort Pitt in the Indian country. If this should happen and if all settlers west of the line were removed, the frontiersmen would encounter hardships unless they were permitted to maintain supply stations along the route. They especially desired easy communication with Fort Pitt in order to compete with Pennsylvania traders traveling over Forbes's Road. It is likely that William Crawford, agent for Washington on the latter's lands in southwestern Pennsylvania, was one person who brought the matter to Washington's attention, for he was at Mount Vernon during most of the period from April 1 to April 6. On April 2 and 3 Crawford visited Williamsburg, and he may have discussed the problem with Blair.¹ At the time Washington did not know that Lord Hillsborough, in accordance with a report of the Board of Trade of March 7, 1768, had instructed Sir William Johnson to run the boundary southwestward from the Susquehanna to Pittsburgh and thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Kanawha.

Washington's letter to Blair was based on the assumption that Gage would have some share in the delineation of the boundary. Blair wrote as follows to Gage on June 17, 1768, referring to this letter:

This Report from the Board of Trade [of March 7, 1768] I perceive relates principally to Pennsylvania, but as it mentions Virginia, as giving us

¹ John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799* (4 vols., Boston, 1925), I, 264.

room to extend our Settlements farther to the Westward, than hitherto with safety, I must suppose that Sir William [Johnson] must settle our Boundary by it. I observe it gives the Ohio for a Boundary from Kittowing down as low as the mouth of the Conohway; how much of that may relate to Virginia I am yet to learn. I had a Letter lately from Col. Washington in behalf of our Frontiers about Fort Cumberland praying me to interceed with your Excellency that if the Lands are ceded to the Indians that three or four Stations on the Road to Fort Pitt, at proper distances might be permitted for the accomodation of Wagons and droves of provisions to Fort Pitt, which he says Pensylvania takes great care of in their Roads. If I find the Letter now mislaid, I will send it you; but if by this new Line those Lands are still retain'd to us there will be no need of this caution of Col. Washington's.²

Fortunately Blair found Washington's letter and enclosed it in his own to Gage, thus insuring its preservation amongst the Gage Manuscripts.

Probably Washington and Blair had previously discussed the effects of the proposed boundary, for the former was at Williamsburg from May 2 to May 6.³ After receiving the report of the Board of Trade on the subject, Blair, as his letter indicates, considered the apprehensions of Washington and the frontiersmen to be probably groundless. Certainly Gage's reply should have quieted their fears. He confirmed Blair's opinion in these terms:

I can have no concern in the matter contained in M^r Washington's Letter, as the Boundary Line takes in the Tract of Land he mentions, it will therefore remain with the Province to Judge, whether such Stages, as he proposes, to be left on the Route to Fort Pitt, will be Beneficial, or not, to the Community.⁴

From this passage in Gage's letter Clarence E. Carter concluded that Washington was attempting to use influence so that the line might be drawn to include lands in which the latter was interested.⁵ It is clear, however, that Washington was not asking special consideration for his lands in this letter, although he possessed a claim to three thousand acres in southwestern Pennsylvania, staked out for him in 1767 by Crawford.⁶ Washington had pre-empted these lands in spite of the Proclamation of 1763 because he thought it would not be enforced.⁷ Possibly he

² Gage MSS. ³ *Diaries*, I, 267-68.

⁴ Gage to Blair, July 15, 1768, Gage MSS.

⁵ Carter, ed., *Correspondence of General Thomas Gage, 1763-1775* (2 vols., New Haven, 1931-33), II, 86, n. 56. Carter seems to have confused John Blair with James Blair, the Anglican commissary. See Volume II, index.

⁶ Archer Butler Hulbert, ed., *Washington and the West* (New York, 1905), pp. 143-45; Charles H. Ambler, *George Washington and the West* (Chapel Hill, 1936), ch. 8.

⁷ Washington to William Crawford, Sept. 21, 1767, John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington*, II (Washington, 1931), 467-71.

felt that a new line would have no greater consequence. His action in writing the letter printed below was probably dictated by loyalty to the Old Dominion and by the desire to serve his friends.

JOHN R. ALDEN.

University of Michigan.

WASHINGTON TO JOHN BLAIR

May 17th 1768^s

Hon^{ble} Sir:

At present the Road from Fort Cumberland to Pittsburg is very thickly Inhabited—so much so at least—as to render the communication easy & convenient for Travellers, & for the transportation of Provisions &c^a from the Frontiers of this Colony to the last mentioned Garrison, and to the Settlers that now are, or may hereafter be fixed on the Ohio; but if the People on the other side of the Alligany should be totally removed, the difficulties of that communication of consequence becomes augmented, and Our Frontier Inhabitants (by odds the most contiguous, and best adapted for the purpose of furnishing the Kings Troops with Provisions & such like things) subjected to Inconveniencies the Contrary of which the People of Pensylvania enjoy in the greatest degree by having Garrisons established all along their Road: So sensible are our Frontier People of this, that several of them in talking to me upon the subject, did request, that I woud lay the matter before your Honour; hoping that, by means of your Representation, Stages might be permitted (I mean some of the Inhabitants suffer'd to remain only) at three or four different places along the Road (that Our Assembly levied money towards the opening of) to the end that Travellers, drivers of Cattle, Hogs, Pack Horses &c^a might be accomodated with halting Places and Provision, to sustain themselves and Cattle in a March so tedious, & often incommoded by the swelling of many large Waters which they are compeld to cross. To this request I promised compliance, in full assurance, that if the matter appeard in the same light to your hon^r, it does to me, you woud readily lay the Circumstances of it before his Excellency Gen^l Gage, whose powers, I apprehend, can regulate these matters; & who, I am persuaded, in consideration of the benefits which his Majesty's Troops will derive from ready Supplies to his Garrisons, woud chearfully come into a measure of this kind; which, from its nature, can give no offence to the Indians, nor any one else, unless there be People in the world, so selfish, as to aim at a Monopoly of those advantages which may follow a Trade to Pittsburg & the Country round it.—I hope I shall stand excused for the liberty I have taken in laying this affair before your Hon^r.—With great respect I remain

Y^r Hon^{rs} Most Obed. H^{ble} Serv^t
G^o WASHINGTON

^s Probably written at Mount Vernon.

AN IMPERIAL UNDERSTATEMENT

The Emperor Francis, fleeing from the scene of the *Dreikaiser-schlacht* at Austerlitz, wrote a hasty but considerate note of warning to his wife, Maria Theresa, who had recently gone to Olmütz to make a pilgrimage to a holy mountain and pray for victory.¹ This note is exactly reproduced below both as to content and size. In translation it reads: "A battle was fought today which did not turn out well. I pray you consequently to withdraw from Olmütz to Teschen with everything that belongs to us. I am well. Your tenderest Francis. From Austerlitz, December 2, 1805."² Despite Francis's desire not to alarm her, Maria Theresa realized the seriousness of the situation. "God, how did this happen?" she wrote him on the following day, "Do not lose courage, all may yet right itself. God will not desert us."³

WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM.

Union College.

¹ E. Wertheimer, *Die drei ersten Frauen des Kaisers Franz* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 60.

² Vienna, Haus- Hof- und Staats-Archiv, Haus-Archiv, vol. 266, f. 71.

³ Quoted in Wertheimer, p. 64.



REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL HISTORY

A History of Social Philosophy. By CHARLES A. ELLWOOD, Professor of Sociology, Duke University. (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1938. Pp. xiv, 581. \$2.60.)

THIS book is designed primarily for students of sociology, but its subject, as a phase of intellectual history, has an interest for historians as well. The author has brought together sketches of the lives and writings of almost fifty theorists from Socrates to Lester F. Ward, criticizing their contributions from the standpoint of a cultural sociologist—with the conviction, namely, that society must be interpreted in terms of man's entire cultural past. He therefore takes issue with what he considers the "one-sided" views of Marx, the racial and geographical determinists, and others. Accordingly one might expect more attention to historical circumstances than Professor Ellwood bestows; his belief, however, is that "social thinking has developed, not so much upon the basis of the general conditions of civilization as upon the basis of traditions in social thinking and the genius of exceptional minds".

The book contains few unfamiliar names. A professed history of social philosophy, however, might grant at least passing reference to a number of figures who are strikingly absent. To vault from Adam Ferguson to Herbert Spencer without a side-glance at Malthus, Godwin, or even Bentham is hardly excused by the statement that England produced no first-rate social philosopher in the interval. We would also gladly exchange Professor Ellwood's Paul von Lilienfeld for some notice of Thorstein Veblen. Even the "passional" theories of Fourier, pointing (in spite of their fantastic expression) toward modern social psychology, perhaps deserve a line or two.

The author lets slip several unguarded statements which doubtless say more than he intends: "Culturally the Middle Ages were a period of profound reversion toward barbarism, especially in southern Europe, where Greek and Roman learning for a time almost disappeared. As northern Europe had never had any high culture, we can hardly speak of reversion there"; Voltaire was "a literary man, and . . . on account of this, as well as on account of his time and place he almost necessarily lacked profundity"; Adam Smith considered mercantile regulations "altogether unwise" (he supported the Navigation Act, however, in the interest of national defense). Certain other errors of omission and commission should be corrected. Herbert Spencer, for example, limited his defense of private property to movables; land, he thought, properly belonged to the community. James

Harrington is mentioned only as a Utopian; his doctrine that political power depends on the possession of property—which better than anything else would justify his inclusion in a work of this kind—is omitted.

On the whole this book conveniently summarizes many salient ideas of a group of notable thinkers from 400 B. C. to about 1900. Although Professor Ellwood's own opinions are clearly in evidence throughout, his statement of the views of others seems to be impartial so far as it goes. The style, though hardly vivid, is terse, unpretentious, and happily free from most of the trying terminology which many social scientists think it necessary to employ.

New York University.

DONALD O. WAGNER.

Quantulacumque. Studies presented to Kirsopp Lake by Pupils, Colleagues, and Friends. Edited by ROBERT P. CASEY, SILVA LAKE, and AGNES K. LAKE. (London: Christophers. 1937. Pp. viii, 367. 21s.)

THIS ably edited and well-illustrated book comprises thirty-five papers in various fields of scholarship. Among the papers on classical and archaeological subjects Bonner's "The Sibyl and Bottle Imps" suggests that a folklore theme plays a part in the legend of the Sibyl confined in an ampulla. Broughton's "Three Notes on Saint Paul's Journeys in Asia Minor" is an excellent contribution to the topography of Asia Minor and the Roman road system there. Miss Halstead's "Paul in the Agora" gives a hypothetical picture of the buildings St. Paul must have seen in Athens and embodies the results of the recent American excavations. Goodenough studies Philo's mystic interpretation of Jewish festivals in "Literal Mystery in Hellenistic Judaism", while Agnes Lake proves, I believe conclusively, in "The Supplicatio and Graecus Ritus" that the *supplicatio* was a native Roman rite, free from Greek elements. Professor Lily Ross Taylor, in "A Sellisternium on the Parthenon Frieze?", rejects Furtwängler's interpretation of the figures on the left in the central relief of the East frieze of the Parthenon. In her opinion the scene does represent the delivery of the peplos: the robe "was to be used as drapery for one of the chairs of the gods" (p. 257).

Father Vincent, in an excellent paper on the origins of Christian architecture, points out that the initial Christian architecture "n'évolua point sur un type de commande". Its first official monuments "dans l'ère constantinienne, eurent une originalité beaucoup plus puissante que la doctrine archéologique reçue jusqu'ici ne leur en attribuait" (p. 55).

As was to be expected in a volume in honor of Professor Kirsopp Lake, many papers deal with Biblical criticism and palaeography, both Greek and Latin. Among these Cadbury's "Rebuttal: A Submerged Motive in the Gospels" and Casey's "Some Remarks on Formgeschichtliche Methode" deal with the application of *Formgeschichte* to the Gospel material. Sanders, with his usual skill, publishes a third century papyrus of Matthew and

Acts, while Hatch, in his paper "A Redating of Two Important Uncial Manuscripts of the Gospels", employing the textual and palaeographical lines of investigation, points out that the Codex Zacynthius was written at the beginning of the sixth century and not, as has been believed, in the eighth, while the Codex Cyprius was copied about 1000.

One interested in Latin palaeography ought not to miss the paper of the master palaeographer, Lowe, dealing with the later history of the Codex Cavensis, one of the oldest manuscripts of the Bible, and scholars interested in textual criticism will find much suggestive material in Pernot's essay, "Que vaut notre text des évangiles?", and in "Remarks on the Prophetologion" by Höeg and Zuntz. The latter especially will be of importance to Byzantinists, since the edition of the *Prophetologion* which the authors propose is to form a part of the *Monumenta musicae Byzantinae*, a field rather neglected.

Space does not permit mention of the other contributions, and the reviewer could not do justice to some of them because of his lack of knowledge of Aramaic, Armenian, Georgian, and Syriac. He hopes, however, to have succeeded in pointing out the unusual wealth of information contained in this volume, worthy of presentation to a great scholar.

Hunter College.

JACOB HAMMER.

The Puritans. By PERRY MILLER, Harvard University, and THOMAS H. JOHNSON, Lawrenceville School. [American Literature Series.] (New York: American Book Company. 1938. Pp. xvi, 846. \$4.00.)

Puritanism and Liberty: Being the Army Debates, 1647-49, from the Clarke Manuscripts, with Supplementary Documents. Selected and edited with an Introduction by A. S. P. WOODHOUSE. (London: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1938. Pp. 506. 18s.)

MUCH has been said first and last about Puritanism, but too little attention has hitherto been paid to what Puritans themselves actually said about themselves. For such neglect there has come to be less and less excuse. Each of these volumes makes available a well-edited body of material illustrating Puritan thought and expression at different but not unrelated points in the Puritan movement.

The first presents writings of the first hundred years of New England in the perspective which has been so authoritatively set forth by S. E. Morison in his studies of the history of Harvard and by Professor Miller himself in his *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts*. In the present volume Professor Miller supplies a closely packed general introduction which gives obvious forecast of a larger work on New England intellectual history. His approach is surely the only sound approach to an understanding of the subject. New England was established under the immediate personal direction of men of learning and intellect, heirs both of the Renaissance and the Reformation,

men reared in the prevailing doctrines of the English Church, in the knowledge of the scriptures and the classics, and in the traditional dialectic of the schools as it had been modified, particularly at Cambridge where most of them were educated, under the influence of Ramus. Professor Miller's account of the Ramean logic in England is especially valuable. The Puritans came to this country intending to set up a theocratic Utopia. They failed to fasten theocracy upon the life of the new world, but in the attempt they transmitted the intellectual culture of their class and time, a desire and respect for knowledge, the habit of reading and of casting thought into words, a scheme of education which assumed the supreme importance of the scriptures and the classics and the usefulness of the art of discourse. One of the first tasks to which the Puritans addressed themselves upon arriving in America was the production of a literature. William Brewster at Plymouth soon began to assemble a library and William Bradford to write a book, one of the most fascinating ever written on American soil. Before a hundred years had passed, there had been put into writing in New England an extraordinary record of spiritual adventure and of colonial enterprise.

It is this literature which is represented by the seven hundred pages of selections here placed before us. They are drawn first of all, of course, from sermons, but also from the chronicles and histories, the letters, journals, and lives, the poetry, and the many tracts and pamphlets in which the Puritan mind poured itself out. Some of this writing, notably the poetry, is very bad. Some of it, especially some of the sermons and diaries, is extremely good of its kind. Little of it fails to reflect the intense vitality of the Puritan spirit and way of life. The selections are classified partly according to form and partly according to subject matter. There is an excellent bibliography which should be useful to students of Puritanism in general as well as of its New England phase.

In *Puritanism and Liberty* A. S. P. Woodhouse supplies a new edition of the short-hand accounts preserved in the Clarke Papers at Worcester College, Oxford, of the debates which, between the autumn of 1647 and the execution of Charles I in 1649, took place among the soldiers and officers of the Puritan army. These have been previously edited by Sir Charles Harding Firth for the Camden Society (1891-1901). Professor Woodhouse supplies a fuller transcription and more intelligible text, based upon a fresh collation of the manuscript with the text of Firth. Spelling and punctuation have been modernized. The editor also supplies nearly three hundred pages of selections from contemporary documents and pamphlets most of which have not hitherto been generally accessible. These illustrate further the revolutionary discussions of which the army debates were but a part. A long introductory essay comments illuminatingly upon the emergence in these debates and in the whirling pamphlets of the time of ideas of political liberty, so familiar in later times, out of religious ideas which now seem strange indeed.

Professor Woodhouse shows how deeply our notions of democracy are rooted in the popular religion of the Puritan age. The elect, the recipients of grace, were free from the consequences of sin, equal before God, set apart from the world but at the same time appointed to make God's word known and his will to prevail in the world. The campaign for the holy community was initiated and always in its more disciplined phases controlled by the ministerial caste. Its undoing, however, was the effect of the ministers' success. The better they did their work of bringing the gospel to the people, the greater grew the number of those who deemed themselves of the elect. On the one hand the holy community flew apart into a multitude of sects deviating in varying degrees from orthodoxy. On the other hand the multitude of saints of all persuasions naturally moved toward the belief that the multitude was saved, that the people were somehow elected by God to be free and equal and to rule not only the congregation of believers but the realm of England. Yet between the theocracy of the Puritan Brahmins and the democracy of the Levellers and agitators in Cromwell's army there were many stages. Men found themselves being swept along strange roads they had themselves chosen farther than they had thought it possible to go, and then having to make a stand against others who had come thus far only to insist that all must go much farther yet. There is no more fascinating chapter in the history of ideas. Professor Woodhouse has done well to bring together in such convenient form so much material for the study of it.

Barnard College.

WILLIAM HALLER.

Die Propaganda Thomas Paines während des Amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskampfes. Von Dr. RUDOLF BÖHRINGER. [Neue deutsche Forschungen.] (Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt. 1938. Pp. 105. 4.80 M.)

Thomas Paine, America's First Liberal. By S. M. BERTHOLD. (Boston: Meador Publishing Company. 1938. Pp. 264. \$2.00.)

Thomas Paine, Liberator. By FRANK SMITH. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. 1938. Pp. 338. \$3.00.)

THESE three works testify to the evergrowing literature on the greatest pamphleteer America has yet produced. Although Paine played a prominent role in the American Revolution and the French Revolution and made the most effective answer to Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*, respectable historians have, until the last half century, either neglected him or damned him. Their opinion was expressed by Theodore Roosevelt in 1887 when he characterized Paine as a "filthy little atheist". This, however, was before Moncure Conway published his eulogistic two-volume *Life of Thomas Paine* in 1892, followed by four volumes of Paine's writings. Since then Paine has been shown as a founding father of this country and a great international democrat, as well as a deeply religious person. The bicentennial of his birth, in 1937, was marked by national celebrations. Unfortunately

little has been added to our knowledge of Paine since Conway's volumes appeared, and Conway has been used as the main if not the only source by most of the subsequent writers.

Dr. Böhringer's monograph can be quickly dismissed. It is an attempt to show the causes of Paine's great success as a pamphleteer by examining his style of writing. Such studies may be useful pursuits for candidates for the doctor's degree in English, but the mechanical procedures employed inevitably leave the reader as unenlightened at the end as at the beginning.

S. M. Berthold's *Thomas Paine, America's First Liberal*, is a very uncritical eulogistic study. It is substantially a crude summary of Conway's *Life* with two chapters added in the nature of digressions, entitled "Present vs. 18th Century Dictators" and "Paine vs. Rousseau". There is also an appendix devoted to quotations from Paine's works and testimonials of Paine's importance from public figures, including Thomas A. Edison and Elbert Hubbard.

Professor Smith's *Thomas Paine, Liberator* is a book of a different order. The author has not been content with the existing information on Paine. Readers of the magazine *American Literature* are already acquainted with his scholarly articles on the subject. Though Professor Smith is more a student of American literature than of history, he has succeeded in producing by far the best account of Paine since Conway's study. It is not only well organized and well written, but it displays an intimate knowledge of the exciting surroundings in which Paine lived and wrote. The discussion of Paine's youth and early manhood in England is perhaps too sketchy, and the discussion of his activities in the American Revolutionary War period follows well-worn paths; but the reader is more than compensated by the detailed analysis of Paine's later activities in France and England.

Paine emerges from these pages as a great figure, but there is less than usual of the attitude that he was a knight in shining armor continually engaged in fighting to spread democracy throughout the world and ever ready to sacrifice interest for principle. Neither does the author present all of Paine's opponents as having sinister motives. Paine is shown as not always being in liberal political company and as having acquiesced in the policies of political allies, even though they struck at his formal democratic principles.

This is by no means, however, a definitive study of Paine. It is especially deficient in adequate analysis of his underlying economics. Like all the outstanding political figures and writers of his age, Paine based his politics on a clear-cut set of economic arguments, but students of Paine have tended to ignore them or to justify them uncritically.

Professor Smith gives more space to these issues than do other accounts, and he throws out significant leads but fails to develop them. Thus he declares that Paine was no economic radical and that "the idealism of the revolutionary epoch", which his work so effectively embodied, "was in the last

analysis the individualistic idealism of an aggressive middle class seeking to wrest freedom and political power from a stagnant aristocracy". Had Professor Smith followed out these leads consistently, he would not have found it necessary to explain away Paine's defense of the Bank of North America. Paine's *Rights of Man* and his other significant works would have received an emphasis far different from the traditional one. Furthermore, Professor Smith might have been led to give more than cursory attention to Paine's views and activities in the United States after his return from France. As it is, he ignores Paine's imperialistic bias regarding the West and Latin America, and he refers but casually to Paine's great faith in indentured servitude.

The omission of sources used and of an index is regrettable. The book, however, should stimulate further investigations not only into Paine's life and the revolutionary era but into the shifting meaning of the concept of "democracy" since Paine's time.

Columbia University.

JOSEPH DORFMAN.

Archivo del General Miranda. Edited by VICENTE DÁVILA. Fourteen volumes. (Caracas: Editorial Sur-America. 1929-1933. Pp. xiii, 439; xvi, 476; xxv, 462; xxxii, 444; xxx, 465; xxi, 494; xvi, 513; xxi, 467; xxvii, 457; xxvii, 473; xix, 477; xlii, 480; xli, 483; xxxiii, 502.)

DURING investigations which the reviewer carried on in the British Public Record Office in 1902 he found documents which convinced him that an extensive and valuable collection of manuscripts gathered by Francisco de Miranda during a long and romantic career had been sent by British colonial officials from Curaçao to London in July, 1812. These papers had been packed in three black leather trunks and forwarded from La Guayra to Curaçao at the very time when Dictator Miranda surrendered to the Spanish royalists. Diligent search in the archives of the British government disclosed that these precious memorabilia had passed into the hands of Earl Bathurst, then secretary of state for war and the colonies. There is no doubt that the Miranda Manuscripts remained in the custody of the secretariat of war and the colonies for some years. After Bathurst went out of office the manuscripts were transported to his residence in Cirencester, Gloucestershire. In 1922, by the kind permission of a later Lord Bathurst, the writer was allowed to examine this collection, and he immediately identified it as being the long-lost archives of the precursor of the independence of Spanish America. Upon becoming aware of the existence of these archives, which Miranda had bequeathed to his native land, the government of Venezuela purchased them for £3000 and placed them in the custody of the Academia nacional de la historia at Caracas. At the instance of General Juan Vicente Gómez this academy appointed a committee headed by Dr. Vicente Dávila to direct the publication of the documents.

Before Miranda's departure from England for Venezuela in 1810, he

had had his manuscripts bound in leather in sixty-three folio volumes. This collection was composed of three series. A series of twenty-six volumes contained documents dealing with his travels. A second series of eighteen volumes was made up of papers relating to his activities in France during the revolutionary era. A third series of nineteen volumes, several of which bore the designation "Negociations", included documents concerning the revolutionizing of the Spanish Indies.

In the volumes under review there are printed a multitude of manuscripts preserved in the first two series of the Miranda collection. Volumes I to VII inclusive contain diaries, letters, and other documents, which are more or less concerned with Miranda's career in the New World and in the Old from 1750 to 1805. Among these manuscripts are documents regarding his military service in Spain, Africa, and the West Indies; the diary of his tour of the United States (already edited by the reviewer and printed by the Hispanic Society of America); and various letters and diaristic fragments concerning his remarkable tour of Europe, during which he visited England, Holland, Prussia, Austria, Italy, Turkey, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, and France. Volumes VIII to XIV contain documents concerning Miranda's experiences in France during the years from 1792 to 1797. Among the topics illuminated by these papers are his entry into the French military service, his meteoric career during the campaign in Belgium under General Dumouriez, his recall from service and trial for treason before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and his relations with French and Spanish American revolutionaries.

It is scarcely necessary to say that these volumes contain a wealth of material about divers matters of importance in American and European history. Many of the documents relate either to the American Revolution or to the French Revolution. Important though they are, yet they are of less interest to students of Miranda's career as a promotor of Spanish American independence than the third series of these documents, now being published by the Venezuelan government, which deal more directly with his efforts to cut the Spanish Indies adrift from the motherland.

University of Illinois.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

La storia come pensiero e come azione. By BENEDETTO CROCE. [Saggi Filosofici.] (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli. 1938. Pp. viii, 329. 30 l.)

THIS volume presents Croce's theory of historical knowledge in a more adequate and interesting form than did *History: Its Theory and Practice*. To be sure, the systematic connections between Croce's theory of history and his other philosophic views are less clear in this volume than in its predecessor. This deficiency, however, is more than compensated for by the new wealth of illustrative material which he brings to his exposition. A reader acquainted with Croce's earlier work will find two new points of

emphasis in the present book: first, a greater concern with the metaphysics of historical experience as opposed to the problem of the objectivity of historical knowledge; second, more frequent references to problems of ethics and to political ideals. The latter passages show the *modus vivendi* which Croce has worked out with respect to contemporary social conflicts.

The book is divided into a series of brief essays which are grouped around such problems as "history as thought and as action", "historicism and its history", "certainty and historical truth", "historiography and politics", "historiography and the moral". In these essays, as in his earlier works, no real demonstrations of his contentions are to be found. Croce is one of those philosophers who, starting from a few basic presuppositions, pronounce but do not demonstrate the truth of their views. There are no painstaking analyses of the actual historical enterprise, such as Croce with his immense erudition and his own accomplishments in the field should be able to furnish. One feels that his presuppositions have been gathered solely from previous philosophic disputation and have never been sufficiently tested against the material which they purport to explain. Thus, for example, Croce rejects all causal explanation in history because of his view that causation is "naturalistic"; he never attempts to demonstrate that, in fact, historians do not (or should not) use the concept of causation. That they should not do so is simply an article of Croce's metaphysical faith.

What is the case with regard to causation is likewise the case with regard to Croce's other basic presuppositions. His metaphysical denial that man ever thinks "falsely" fails to conform with even his own critical statements, for example, with those concerning the interpretation of Vico's thought. Such contradictions between Croce's theory and actual historiographical practice are far more evident in this than in his previous work. For this reason, as well as for his more concrete discussions of historicism and the metaphysics of historical experience, historians would be well advised to study this new work.

Swarthmore College.

MAURICE MANDELBAUM.

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome. Edited by TENNEY FRANK *et al.* Volume IV: *Roman Africa*, by R. M. HAYWOOD; *Roman Syria*, by F. M. HEICHELHEIM; *Roman Greece*, by J. A. O. LARSEN; *Roman Asia*, by T. R. S. BROUGHTON. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1938. Pp. vi, 950. \$5.00.)

This penultimate installment of the *Economic Survey* deserves a hearty welcome. If it exceeds its immediate predecessor in bulk, this is in part because all the countries treated in it were annexed by Rome in Republican

times, so that proportionately more space had to be devoted to the pre-Augustan period than in Volume III. There is also an increase in size because two of the contributors, Mr. Larsen and Mr. Broughton, have included a good deal of political and military history in the introductory chapters of their sections. Comparison of this volume with Volume III brings home to one how great a part chance has played in the matter of surviving evidence. Thus, in Volume III Mr. Van Nostrand was able to give the reader a fairly full account of mining as practiced in Spain. In Volume IV Mr. Larsen and Mr. Broughton do their best with the evidence for mining in Greece, Macedonia, and Asia Minor, but all there is to record about the subject in the three countries fills barely three pages.

Mr. Heichelheim's section on Syria, through no fault of his own, is briefer than the subject deserves, and the general editor apologizes for this. Even so, an astonishing amount of material has been compressed into 130 pages, though it is legitimate to ask what place paragraphs on education and amusements have in an economic history. A very valuable feature is the extensive use that has been made of the Babylonian Talmud and other Jewish sources, and the way in which these at times correct or amplify the Graeco-Roman evidence is exceedingly enlightening. Anyone who is disposed uncritically to sing the praises of the *pax romana* would do well to study pages 231-45 and there to learn what a crushing burden of taxation was placed upon the inhabitants of the Near East.

Mr. Larsen's account of Macedonia and Greece is characterized by the meticulous accuracy and sane judgment that all who know his work have learned to expect of him. For example, in his detailed treatment of the economic life of Delos he not only summarizes admirably the available evidence, but he corrects earlier investigators on a number of points and adds new and instructive suggestions of his own. In general his survey supports the view that although Greece went through a prolonged depression, this was not as extreme as many of the literary sources suggest, whereas the recovery in the late first and early second century was substantial and endured for some time. Seeing that he has given us so much, it may seem greedy to ask for more; but the one general criticism that the reviewer would make of this section is that the third century of our era has been skimmed.

Mr. Haywood's contribution is more vulnerable to criticism. He has handled certain portions of his subject very well, for instance, the commerce in Africa and the group of documents concerned with the imperial estates there. But our information is far too incomplete to justify his categorical assertion (p. 101) that the requirement of a certain number of days' free labor from the tenants of those estates was peculiar to that region. Indeed, Mr. Broughton later in the book (p. 692) suggests that the custom may have existed, for a while at least, in Asia. It may be doubted whether

Mr. Haywood has always made the fullest use of the literary and epigraphic evidence. Thus the slave labor in a mill so brutally portrayed by Apuleius (*Metamorphoses*, 9, 12) deserved mention in chapter 2, paragraph 5, as did, in the previous paragraph or earlier, Suetonius Paulinus's exploration of the territory stretching southwards of the Atlas Mountains (Pliny, *Natural History*, 5, 14), unless we are to assume that the expedition had no economic purpose or results whatever. This, however, is unlikely, as Suetonius brought back information about the flora and fauna of the regions that he traversed. Mr. Haywood refers in passing to *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, VIII, 18587, but the important inscription, *C.I.L.*, VIII, 2728, is ignored. In fact he says very little about water supply and irrigation, although this was at all times a vital problem in a province like Africa. This omission is the more noticeable because Mr. Heichelheim devotes several pages to the problem as it affected Syria. Finally, one would like to know why Mr. Haywood's section is the only one in the book for which no bibliography is provided.

Mr. Broughton had a peculiarly difficult task, partly because of the copious evidence, partly because of the intricate questions involved. Inasmuch as he has brought together an enormous quantity of information, he may be said to have succeeded in his task. From another point of view, however, it might be argued that he has at times permitted himself to become submerged under the mass of material that he has worked through. In consequence it is not always easy to follow in his pages the main lines of economic development and decline in Asia Minor. Since his contribution, valuable as it is, is essentially a *repertorium* of facts and figures, it at least needed a full index in order to give it the maximum value for students.

Our final criticism—and it is a serious one for a work of this kind—is that none of the four indexes in this volume is in the least adequate, either for proper names or for subjects. Earlier volumes have shown the same weakness. Is it too much to hope that when the *Economic Survey* has been completed a supplementary volume, containing a full and reliable *index generalis* for the whole work, may be published? The undertaking as a whole is good enough to deserve it.

Cornell University.

M. L. W. LAISTNER.

The Mediterranean World in Ancient Times. By EVA MATTHEWS SANFORD, Assistant Professor of History, Sweet Briar College. (New York: Ronald Press Company. 1938. Pp. xxi, 618. \$4.50.)

The Ancient World. By WALLACE EVERETT CALDWELL, Professor of Ancient History, The University of North Carolina. (New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1937. Pp. xvii, 590. \$3.75.)

PROFESSOR Sanford has set herself the task of presenting "the ancient Mediterranean world as a whole, with emphasis on the controlling factors

in its development at successive periods" (p. iii). To this end she has broken with the traditional tripartite division of ancient history into the ancient Near East, the Greek world, and Rome in favor of what she calls "a more unified plan which has been found practicable in actual teaching" (*ibid.*). Unfortunately this plan, which is to present the fundamental problems of antiquity as a single process, does not make for the lucidity which is so important for the meagerly prepared reader whom the author certainly has in mind; and although the proportioning of the work is in general satisfactory, the treatment of certain phases of the ancient world leaves much to be desired—for instance, that of the Hellenic World. Occasionally the book becomes a veritable labyrinth in which the reader is sure to lose his way. The author's experiment seems to confirm the advantage of the traditional plan.

Obviously, one cannot expect in a book of this type and scope a thorough analysis of the many controversial questions of ancient history. One regrets, nevertheless, that when the author occasionally touches upon a controversy she limits herself to a fleeting casual remark which does not arouse the reader's suspicion of the existence of other points of view. One example will suffice: speaking of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (pp. 537-38), the author identifies the *dediticii* who remained debarred from Roman citizenship with the "lower classes on the estates of Egypt and Asia . . . and the barbarians settled as coloni within the frontiers", without mentioning the complicated controversies aroused by the Papyrus Giessen 40.

The value of such a book depends in great measure on its illustrative material. The illustrations scattered throughout this volume make a very favorable impression, although some changes would be desirable. The selection of reproductions of Cretan art—plates 14-16—could be revised to offer more typical examples; it is regrettable that the author reproduces on plate 36 only the head of the Delphic Charioteer; there is a mistake in the explanation of the Erechtheum on plate 12, where the western and not the northern façade is seen. On the whole, however, the book surpasses others treating similar material by reason of its illustrations, the quality of which is excellent. The suggestions given in the well-classified reading lists are practical and helpful.

Professor Caldwell adheres rigidly to the traditional scheme in explaining the facts and factors in the rise of Western civilization in antiquity. In general his presentation is very well balanced, with the exception perhaps of the concluding chapter, "The Last Century of the Roman Empire (180-305 A. D.)", which is somewhat truncated; such important events as the barbarian invasions and the spread of Christianity, as well as the destiny of the Eastern Empire, are dealt with in a too summary fashion. It is unreasonable to expect absolute accuracy in a textbook, but even the reviewer who revels in tracking down errors could find little to complain of. Caldwell

does not always live up to his promise to explain technical expressions: how many readers, for example, will understand the difference between the barrel vaults and the groined vaults (p. 496)? The selection of the illustrations is quite satisfactory, though their usefulness would be increased if references to them were given in the text. It would be more accurate to speak of placing cinerary urns in *columbaria* than in catacombs (p. 491). In the word *fascias* (pp. 175, 177) the italics should be omitted, or the Latin form *fasciae* should be used. These random minor *corrigenda* do not detract, however, from the intrinsic value of the book.

The University of Nebraska.

MICHAEL GINSBURG.

A History of the Expansion of Christianity. By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE, D. Willis James Professor of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University. Volume I, *The First Five Centuries*; Volume II, *The Thousand Years of Uncertainty, A.D. 500-A.D. 1500*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1937; 1938. Pp. xxiv, 412; ix, 492. \$3.50 each.)

THESE are the first two volumes in a projected series of six, in which Professor Latourette has set himself the enormous and unprecedented task of writing the history of the spread of the Christian faith to all parts of the world from the days of the apostles to the present. A third volume will cover the period from 1500 to 1800 A.D., and the remaining half of the work will be devoted to the revival and expansion of Christianity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

It would be impossible to find a scholar better qualified than Professor Latourette to undertake so exacting a task. Himself a Protestant missionary in his early life and "still an active participant in Christian missionary enterprises", he has, as he states in his preface, "for more than twenty-five years lived with the pertinent material". At the same time he is a trained historian, bringing modern critical methods into his work and sternly resisting any temptation to appeal to miracle, allegory, or theological metaphysics to solve the manifold difficulties which fidelity to the canons of historical criticism creates for the avowed Christian believer. It is no reflection on the author's integrity that he avoids these difficulties by sticking closely to the factual history of the spread of the religion, eschewing any discussion of Christian dogmas or of the history of the Church in its conflicts with heresy, schism, science, rationalism, and the political powers of the world. Indeed, he is even loath to say that the introduction of Christianity into this or that part of the world was a blessing or that it was due primarily to Christianity that the social level in such a region was raised. He only describes, with great learning and a fascinating style, the process of the penetration of the Christian faith from the Mediterranean basin into the hinterland of Europe, the vast realms of Asia, the dark places of Africa, and the lands beyond the great oceans.

In these first two volumes the author follows a scheme which he presumably means to carry through his work. He undertakes to answer seven questions which he poses in his introduction: What is the essence of Christianity in its manifold forms? Why did it spread so persistently? What reverses did it meet with (in Islam, the defection of western and central Asia, the apostasy of modern Russia)? What methods of propagation did it use? What was the effect of Christianity upon its environment? What was the effect of the environment upon Christianity? How far may the conditions of medieval and modern Europe be ascribed to the spread of the Christian religion? In one or two places Professor Latourette hints that after his present purely descriptive task is finished he may undertake the philosophical synthesis of the scientific and the Christian points of view which he "is convinced" is possible.

We cannot quarrel with Professor Latourette for choosing to confine himself to the processes and the results of the spread of Christianity; nor can we deny his allegation that an appraisal of the "moral and social quality of the effects as they are enumerated and described" would "require many more pages than can be properly crowded into this book"; nevertheless, we cannot avoid the feeling that Hamlet has been left out of the play when the author (I, 242) "contents himself with the rôle of the recorder who endeavours to avoid an estimate of the ethical and social worth of what he observes".

Columbia University.

D. S. MUZZEY.

Istoria Românilor. By CONSTANTINE C. GIURESCU. Volume I, to 1432; Volume II (in 2 parts), to 1601. (Bucharest: Carol II Foundation for Literature and Art. 1935; 1937. Pp. 586; 793.)

THE postwar period has witnessed a remarkable intellectual revival in Rumania, fostered by the keen interest and lavish financial support of King Carol, whose Carol II Foundation for Literature and Art publishes many monographs and new editions under the general direction of Professor Alex. Rosetti of the University of Bucharest. In the field of history Rumanian scholarship could already point to several excellent general works, notably those of Xenopol and Onciul and particularly the voluminous publications of Nicholas Iorga, whose *History of Roumania* was published in English in 1925. But these were felt by the younger school of Rumanian historians to represent too traditional and sometimes too patriotically biased an attitude. Notable among the latter is Giurescu.

In this history of the Rumanians by Giurescu we have a new scientific synthesis of Rumanian history. We can only indicate some of the more valuable features of this monumental work. Each chapter is provided with an excellent bibliography; and even if one does not know Rumanian, the abundant illustrations are mainly self-explanatory and illuminating.

Giurescu was a pupil of the great archaeologist Pârvan, and his treatment of the Dacians rests on thorough field work as well as literary sources; it results in a proud conviction that the Rumanians are the oldest people in southeastern Europe, since their Getan ancestors can be traced back to 1800 B.C., and also that they were the earliest to be Christianized. As regards the vexed question whether the Roman settlers left with the legions in 271-75 A.D., Giurescu points out that the Latin-speaking peasantry remained in Lombardy, Gaul, and Spain under the Germanic invaders, and that the persistence of a Romance language out there by the Black Sea indicates continuity.

The Rumanian plains were a highway for barbarian invasions; Giurescu tabulates the cultural and linguistic contributions from Slav, Cuman, Avar, Hungarian, and Tartar, all of whom left their mark on the life and speech of the Rumanian farmer and shepherd. These chapters give a vivid presentation of medieval *Kulturgeschichte* in the Balkan region. Giurescu has braved obloquy in Rumania by emphasizing that "rumân", which means "Rumanian", is the regular term for a landless serf; the serf who obtains his liberty "scapă de rumănie", i.e., "escapes from being Rumanian"; even the designation "vlah" (Wallach) occurs in documents as an equivalent of "serf", and its Hungarian form, "olah", has been for centuries a Magyar term of opprobrium, like "dago". Nevertheless the fundamental toughness of these descendants of the Romans carried them through. There was a Balkan Bulgarian-Rumanian kingdom from 1197 to 1258, extending from Belgrade and Adrianople to Durazzo and including most of Macedonia, Serbia, Albania, and Thrace; and by 1324 a Rumanian state had already arisen in Transylvania and Wallachia under Basarab (from whom Bessarabia takes its name). Nominally a vovodate under Hungarian overlordship, it followed its own path, as did the sister state, Moldavia, established about 1350 by the Hungarians as a bulwark against the Tartars. Wallachia enjoyed able rulers for over a century, from Basarab to Mircea the Old. They saved their state from the Turkish absorption which swallowed up Bulgaria, Serbia, and eventually Hungary itself. From this point on, sources abound. Giurescu's second volume carries the account in great detail and judicious presentation up to the seventeenth century, and the volumes in press and in preparation will bring the story up to 1919. Giurescu has informed me that he plans to bring out a résumé of the whole in French, German, or English, but hardly before 1943.

The appearance of this bold new synthesis of Rumanian history occasioned violent attacks from the older school, headed by Iorga. Giurescu had pilloried Iorga's *History of Roumania* in his *O Nouă Sinteză a Trecutului Nostru*, Bucharest, 1932, reprinted from the *Revista Istorică Română*, 1931-32. Iorga was savage in his criticism of Giurescu's first volume, and Giurescu replied with an article in the *Revista* (1935), reissued in pamphlet

form, *In Legătură cu "Istoria Românilor"* (1936); this controversy is a valuable and interesting study for the historiographer. Iorga and his adherents have kept up the attacks, both in Iorga's own paper and in the Nationalist *Universul*, the campaign even at times including Professor Rosetti and the Carol II Foundation, but they seem to have quieted down in recent months. It is significant that this dispute caused such widespread public interest, and that the generous printings of the first editions were rapidly exhausted. Anyone will understand it who consults these handsome and authoritative volumes; whoever can read Italian or Spanish and has access to a Rumanian dictionary can enjoy this admirable introduction to the historical development of the leading state in Southeastern Europe.

The City College, New York.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

Geography in the Middle Ages. By GEORGE H. T. KIMBLE. (London: Methuen and Company. 1938. Pp. x, 272. 15s.)

MEDIEVAL geography is a fascinating subject, as readers of the great works of Beazley and La Roncière are aware. This little volume is written in a clear literary style, so that it is readable and interesting. At times, however, it is difficult to find the antecedent for a pronoun, and at page 56 the expression, "an interesting sidelight upon the breadth of the writer's outlook", is bewildering. The book is quite attractively printed and illustrated, although most of the medieval maps have had to be so reduced in size that their legends are scarcely legible. The author aims to write the history of geographical thought rather than that of geographical exploration and to bring out "the contribution of the Middle Ages to the advance of geographical studies". He has perhaps covered the literature on the subject as fully and in as much detail as could be expected in a book of this size. One consults the index in vain, however, for such names and topics as Alfonso X, Clavius, Commerce or Trade, Duhem, Francesch des Valers, John of Gmunden, Nicholas of Cusa, Leonardus Qualea, Astronomical Tables, or Tabriz. Some additions to the bibliography might be suggested, notably, *Bibliographie des livres parus de 1912 à 1931 sur les grands voyages et les grandes découvertes depuis le X^e siècle jusqu'à la circumnavigation du monde par Magellan en 1519.*

The arrangement of the text in topical chapters which perforce cut across the chronological sequence occasions difficulties. The introduction of the compass is not discussed until almost the end of the book, and expansion into Africa is considered before expansion into Asia. Some topics like the Antipodes are split up between several chapters. Perhaps because he has forgotten his own order of chapters, the author sometimes introduces a fact for the first time as if it were already familiar. Neither Genoa nor Venice is mentioned in the chapter on the renaissance of geographical studies in Christendom, but for the first time in the following chapter on Africa.

The general background of intellectual history against which the author sets his account of geographical thought and knowledge is one with which I found myself seldom in agreement. His remarks regarding humanism and science and the Greeks and the Renaissance at pages 206-207 are almost entirely wrong. He indulges in a great deal too much unsubstantiated talk about the church stifling thought. His own statements in this regard are inconsistent. At page 87 he says that Roger Bacon "is careful not to offend the susceptibilities of the Church by postulating an antipodal landmass", yet on the very next page he quotes Roger as speaking of land in the southern hemisphere. At page 37 he states: "By the eighth century the Church appears to have largely forgotten its earlier doubts about the shape of the earth and to have accepted the saner opinions of the Ancients." Yet at page 149 he asserts: "Orthodoxy prescribed the acceptance of very definite ideas concerning the shape, movement and peopling of the earth", a statement which he does not prove and which has never been satisfactorily substantiated to my knowledge.

The author also seems too inclined to suggest questionable ideological grounds for what can be much more simply and satisfactorily accounted for by external conditions and opportunities. At page 48 he has himself recognized that "with the vast extension of their empire, the Weltanschauung of the Arabs was necessarily widened". Yet at page 68 he would account for Moslem superiority to Western Europe in geography by the theory that "disinterested research was stifled in western Europe by a theological dictatorship", while the Moslems freely advanced "the cause of every known science". The simpler and truer reason is that, when the Saracens controlled the Mediterranean, not to mention the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, they commanded an area and trade many times greater than little landlocked Western Christendom. When the papacy really reached the height of its power, from Innocent III to John XXII, it sent Giovanni dal Piano di Carpini to the Far East and Dominican missionaries far up the Nile. The quest for the kingdom of Prester John will perhaps seem no more fantastic to future historians than our recent efforts to reach the North Pole. The word "popular" (pp. 97-99) is not appropriately applied to beliefs expressed in Latin for and by the learned.

There are many footnotes, often to the primary sources, but sometimes the references seem to have been taken from other works. Thus at page 205 I suspect that the references in note 2 to Oresme's *Des divinations* and *De configuratione qualitatum* derive from the third volume of my *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, and that in note 3 to Albert of Saxony's commentary on *De caelo et mundo*, from Pierre Duhem. Mr. Kimble has quoted me by name several times (although there is but one reference in his index), and once for a view which I particularly rejected (p. 222, n. 6), so that his failure to do so elsewhere is doubtless uninten-

tional. But I may perhaps point out that at page 82 the quotation marks should include eight lines rather than two; that note 3 on page 99 follows my II, 542, the top of page 151, my III, 557, concerning the *Lumen animae*, and pages 172-73, my III, 396-97. One parallel may be demonstrated in detail:

(Thorndike, II, 975) . . . men have a natural tendency to assert, and craving to hear the sensational, exaggerated, and impossible, and to fly in the face both of reason and experience. People take pleasure in affirming the extravagant and in believing the incredible . . . "Lord, I believe, help Thou my unbelief," is a good picture of the mental attitude supporting much of magic . . .

(Kimble, p. 98) . . . men universally have a natural tendency to assert, and a liking to hear, things that smack of the sensational, the extravagant and the incredible, and to fly in the face both of reason and experience. "Lord, I believe, help Thou my unbelief," expresses a common attitude of mind . . .

In summary, this book is on the whole a well-written and fairly skillfully, although sometimes carelessly, executed compilation, which has profited by recent advanced works in the field. But it has nothing to offer the reader which may not be found elsewhere, and it retains a number of obsolete obsessions. It has not done full justice to the intellectual life of the Middle Ages, and, so far as one reader is concerned, has merely given a few glimpses which have made him more forlorn.

Columbia University.

LYNN THORNDIKE.

The Open Fields. By C. S. and C. S. ORWIN. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 332. \$7.00.)

A Manor through Four Centuries. By A. R. COOK. (*Ibid.* Pp. ix, 194. \$4.50.)

MANY will think after reading the first of these two books that early English methods of agriculture have hitherto fallen too exclusively into the hands of the social historians and that a treatment like this, which adds an expert knowledge of practical farming to a sufficient learning in the subject, lends new life and vigor to the study of an old problem. It is true, as stated by the authors, that there are many questions the historian has not answered—besides those quoted delightfully and appropriately from *Punch* regarding the status of early hedgehogs in a world divested of hedges. No one method of approach can reach all corners, and some shibboleths of the past, some earlier interpretations, need reviewing in the light of these newer suggestions.

The writers omit from their survey the "shadowy" farms of the downlands. They start with the heavy moldboard plowing of the valleys. They see that the fundamental question confronting the early farmer was not how to fit landholding into a social system but how to solve the problem of keeping alive, of wringing "a bare subsistence from the soil". The small

primitive village groups plowed co-operatively the available arable, for few individuals amongst them were sufficiently established to have a whole plow; and the strips, each of which was the amount of land plowed in a day, fell naturally to the contributors to the plow team in turn. This method of cultivation was continued as the group grew in number and needed more land taken in from the waste. Thus the scattering of strips is explained and a reasonable explanation given of the origin of the system. Many scholars have questioned the usual explanation, namely, that the strips were scattered because of an enforced or altruistic desire for equality amongst the early settlers, but they have been overborne by the weight of Maitland's opinion, conjoined with Vinogradoff's, to the neglect of suggestions made by Seebohm and more recently by Dr. Fowler.

Another old problem which disappears before the application of a knowledge of practical husbandry is that of the troublesome balks, land potentially arable supposed to be between the strips. The authors describe with great vividness the actual process of plowing and the turning of double furrows to divide the strips. The true balks, they think, fall into the class of the sikes, the gores, and the headlands and served like them as means of reaching the various strips and as helps in draining superfluous moisture. Lynchets, the terraced hillsides of Seebohm, are removed from any connection with plowing, but no explanation is offered of their origin. The discussion of another matter, the wheeled and the wheelless plows in the development of agriculture, should be noted as raising a question regarding some of the conclusions reached by M. Bloch. Comparatively little stress is laid on assarting and common rights as accessory to agriculture, and the reviewer would raise a question as to the explanation of dens.

The larger part of the book is devoted to a detailed study of the village of Laxton in Nottinghamshire, where open-field cultivation has lingered until the present. The plentiful documentary evidence for the agrarian history of the village is analyzed, and the part played by enclosures and improvements in agriculture is studied. Laxton's agrarian arrangements furnish lively illustrations of the working of the general principles stated in the introductory part of the book and also show that while "Time makyth ancient good uncouth", yet there were excellent virtues possible under the open-field system, especially the sense of social responsibility necessarily developed in groups of cultivators and not necessarily present in those farming individually and severally.

Of very different character is the second volume reviewed here. It is somewhat desultory in arrangement. It is in no way concerned with the manor as such and pays no heed to difficult agrarian problems. It introduces the church of East Peckham and describes it in great detail, suggesting that the profits of the sale of the book will be turned over to a fund for maintaining the fabric. Its greatest value lies in the light that it throws on

the opinions and vicissitudes of fortune of certain county gentry in Kent, from about 1500 onward, especially during Wyatt's Rebellion and the Civil Wars. It centers round the history of Roydon Hall, a family seat in East Peckham, held during a long period by the Twysden family. The account of Sir Roger Twysden, based mainly on family records, is of some interest. His political opinions during the Civil Wars, his life in prison, his numerous writings, the sequestration of his estates, the felling of his beautiful timber, his difficulties in getting redress, all make an interesting and very human story. Details are given, too, of other prominent Kentish people and families like the Wyatts, the Derings, the Finches, the Monins. As Kemble remarked, "The history of the Civil Wars can only be thoroughly understood when we have pled for a wider insight than we possess into the objects and views of the country gentlemen of England at that time as shown in the private records of their families."

Mount Holyoke College.

N. NEILSON.

Medieval Number Symbolism: Its Sources, Meaning, and Influence on Thought and Expression. By VINCENT FOSTER HOPPER, New York University. [Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 241. \$2.90.)

At first sight the reader of this interesting work may naturally ask for the meaning of the term "Number Symbolism" since he will look in vain for any symbols relating to numbers, taking the words as meaning the numerals which were the symbols in common use in the Middle Ages and at the present time. After reading a few pages, however, he will find a justification for the title, namely, the signification of the various names of the several numerical symbols chiefly known in Europe during the period 1000-1400 or even the millennium beginning with the seventh century. With this in mind Professor Hopper calls attention to the value of a study of the number names that were used in the European regions and in Asia and Africa as well. He then considers the numbers used in astrology, in such sciences as were then known, and, especially, in the religious rites referred to in the Hebrew, Latin, Greek, and Gnostic literature, concluding with a chapter on the "Pythagorean Number Theory".

Thus far the work has been concerned chiefly with the premedieval period, and the sixth chapter begins with a study of the significance of the number names in the later eras, and here the reader will find the most noteworthy and most elaborate part of the text. This is set forth in two chapters—"Medieval Number Philosophy" and "The Beauty of Order: Dante"—followed by an appendix on "Number Symbols of Northern Paganism", with an extensive bibliography and index.

A scholar of repute, Professor Hopper has searched the literature of his

subject as set forth by such early writers as Capella (ca. 470), Hrabanus Maurus (ca. 820), and Isidorus of Seville (also ca. 820). Naturally he has then included Petrus Bungus (Bongo), canon of the cathedral of Bergamo. It was Bungus who wrote for the clergy of his day the *Mysticae numerorum significationis liber in duas partes*, a remarkable work (1583, enlarged in a second edition in 1584) which touches upon every number mentioned in the Bible—evidence of narrow-mindedness rather than such a general knowledge as Professor Hopper has displayed.

The author has given us a rich contribution to the development of the significance of number as it has changed through a long era. It is not a history of numbers or of their numerals, nor was it intended to give a sketch of the development of either, but it is a storehouse of abundant material for thought.

Columbia University.

DAVID EUGENE SMITH.

Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal "libri poenitentiales" and Selections from related Documents. By JOHN T. MCNEILL and HELENA M. GAMER. [Records of Civilization.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. xiv, 476. \$4.75.)

STUDENTS of the more general aspects of life in the Middle Ages, as well as medievalists, have much to gain from investigating the history of penance and its relations to the various phases of medieval civilization. (See the writings listed in the reviewer's "Some Neglected Aspects in the History of Penance", *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Oct., 1938, pp. 293 ff.) Rich materials for such investigation are translated in the volume under review, in which a brief general introduction on the history of penance and the texts is followed by critical introductions and annotated translations for the principal penitential books, related passages in medieval public law, and pertinent conciliar canons. Five appendixes add other relevant documents, general descriptions of the less important penitentials, a detailed list of the manuscripts and their locations, and a selected bibliography.

Highly commendable are the inclusion of several previously unpublished manuals; the establishing of some improved readings; the special introductions on pages 179, 278, 282, 285, 291, 321, 346, 350, and 353; and appendixes III-V. Several of the other critical introductions are well done but make no original contributions.

On the other hand, the book is marred by numerous errors of omission and commission. The general introduction exaggerates the employment of commutations, the lateness in origin of private penance, the uniqueness of Celtic penance, the evidence for authorship of a penitential by Finnian of Clonard, pagan Irish elements in penitential discipline, and the savagery of secular penalties. A number of penitential canons and of passages on penance and excommunication in the secular laws are omitted which are

important for the connections of penance with other areas of medieval life. The introductions to the secular laws are inadequate, as are the discussions of penance and its secular enforcement, the broader aspects of penitential influence, the cultural and other relations of the Irish penitentials, and the textual relations of several others. There are numerous inaccurate statements.

The references and bibliography show no use of many essential works on public and private penance and on the secular laws, on the penitentials of Raban Maur and of Pseudo-Theodore, on the *Pseudo-Roman Penitential*, on Mosaic and other taboos in the penitential canons, on the synodal courts, and on English paganism. Nor is any reference made to two articles on Irish penance and its cultural affiliations by the present reviewer, published in 1933 (*Speculum*, pp. 489 ff., and *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, pp. 320 ff.).

The usually excellent translations and textual work give value to this volume of the Columbia Records of Civilization series, but the portions criticized should be used with caution and carefully checked with other works by specialists.

New York City.

THOMAS P. OAKLEY.

L'Aquitaine carolingienne, 778-987. Par LÉONCE AUZIAS, agrégé de l'Université. [Bibliothèque méridionale, publiée sous les auspices de la Faculté des Lettres de Toulouse.] (Toulouse: Édouard Privat; Paris: Henri Didier. 1937. Pp. xlviii, 587. 75 fr.)

THE author of this book was a wounded, gassed, and decorated veteran of the War of 1914 who had taught history in several *lycées* and was a candidate for the doctorate at the University of Toulouse when he died at the age of thirty-nine from complications resulting from his war service. The present work is, according to its editors, "imperfect and incomplete" (p. xviii) but a "faithful transcription" of the manuscripts of his two doctoral theses, followed by appendixes containing several brief studies likewise left unfinished by his sudden death. The author's text was published without revision but with indications of various lacunae, contradictory statements, and other discrepancies. The reason for this procedure is suggested in the two prefaces, by the author's widow and the editors; to them the unfinished manuscript was the memorial of a tragically interrupted career and therefore to be preserved as the author left it. This explains, although perhaps it does not justify, the many omissions and inconsistencies which are to be found in the bibliography, notes, and text. The lack of much needed maps is noticeable, and there are certain defects of interpretation.

The major portion of the book, comprising the subject matter of the two theses, deals with the history of Aquitaine and its Carolingian rulers from the Moslem invasions to the reign of Hugh Capet. There are also pages of detailed narrative and comment concerning events outside of Aquitaine, such, for instance, as the expeditions of Charles the Great and

his son Pepin in northern Spain, their establishment of the Spanish March, the intrigues of Louis the Pious's sons, the Treaty of Verdun, the ensuing civil wars, the Norse invasions of France, and the transition from the Carolingian to the Capetian dynasty. Such extended treatment of affairs only remotely connected with Aquitaine gives breadth of scope and emphasizes the external forces that affected that region, but this advantage is offset by the inevitable lack of concentration on things Aquitainian. Nowhere, for instance, is there any description of the social, economic, religious, and cultural institutions of Aquitaine. In fact, this work is not so much a history of Aquitaine as a history of the Carolingian Empire from the point of view of Aquitaine. Furthermore, it is a strictly political history, narrated in detailed chronological fashion. As such, it has outstanding merits.

So far as Aquitaine is concerned, this book is more recent and thorough than those of Mabille, Richard, Poupardin, and Lot. It is a work of minute and searching historical scholarship, well-documented throughout. Important controversial points are carefully analyzed, and the author's opinions are convincingly presented. The treatment of Bernard Plantevelue, especially his relations with Charles the Fat (pp. 412 ff.), is, in the opinion of the reviewer, a brilliant piece of historical construction. Less satisfying are the summaries and interpretations with which the various sections close. There are noticeable prejudices, motivated for the most part, it seems, by partisanship for the cause of Aquitainian independence. It must be remembered, however, that many interpretations would have been revised by the author had he lived to complete his work. Unfinished though it is, this is a worthwhile volume, and one's unavoidable disappointments at its shortcomings are overshadowed by regrets that so promising a career should have been cut short.

The University of North Carolina.

LOREN C. MACKINNEY.

Early British Economics from the XIIIth to the Middle of the XVIIIth Century. By M. BEER. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. 250. \$3.25.)

MR. BEER's book is more to be recommended for scholars already familiar with the field it covers than for readers who desire a first introduction to, or even a convenient summary of, the materials suggested by its title. The former will not be misled by the author's failure to give an adequate impression of the relation between the ideas developed by British writers and the work of Continental thinkers or by his unconventional ideas concerning the relative importance of certain writers (a dozen lines for the penetrating Cantillon, over ninety for the muddled Vanderlint) or by his unfamiliarity with certain readily accessible secondary sources; and they will be grateful for his interesting chapters on Alexander of Hales and other too-neglected

schoolmen as well as for scattered references to a number of other writers who, if not entirely unknown to specialists, deserve more attention than they have commonly received.

They will be interested, too, in his novel interpretations of certain developments. Of these, two have specially interested the reviewer, as indeed they did the author: his division of mercantilism into two periods, the dividing line being placed, somewhat vaguely, in the second half of the sixteenth century, and his interpretation of the change in policy which justified this division in his eyes. Objection to the first is a matter of emphasis rather than of fact. That English policy in the early period was dominated by crudely "bullionist" notions few will be inclined to deny despite evidence of other points of view; but to imply that the two hundred years of mercantile policy and thought which followed are pretty much of a piece seems to the reviewer misleading. The eighteenth century is as different from the seventeenth as the latter is from the sixteenth.

With regard to the second point the reviewer is even more skeptical. To explain the shift from a policy of holding on to your treasure to a policy of increasing your stock of it—if shift it was—in terms of the breakdown of medieval ideals of "commutative justice" seems far-fetched in the extreme. Not only were these principles worked out with reference to the dealings of individual with individual; there is nothing in them which forbade the individual to get rich—honestly, of course—or to hold his wealth in the form of treasure if he so desired. It may be, and probably is, true that the weakening of medieval attitudes towards wealth and wealth-seeking is subtly reflected in the envious race for national enrichment which ensued, but that is quite another matter.

Harvard University.

A. E. MONROE.

History of Parliament: Register of the Ministers and of the Members of both Houses, 1439-1509. Issued by the Committee of both Houses charged with the Production of the History. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; New York: British Library of Information. 1938. Pp. cxlix, 754. \$10.30.)

THIS second volume of the first installment of the *History of Parliament* rearranges some of the information contained in the first volume (reviewed in this journal, XLIII, 111) and adds to it. The biographies of members are now utilized to draw up lists of men who were present at each of the twenty-six parliaments held during the seventy years under consideration. The added matter comprises lists of some twenty of the king's principal ministers at the time of each parliament, a diary and digest of proceedings drawn largely from the *Rolls*, and a list of constituencies briefly described, with names of members added.

As before, Colonel Wedgwood writes an introduction, and he now indicates some conclusions that may be drawn from the newly arranged ma-

terial. Of the one hundred bishops who were lords in parliament fewer than one third were of noble family. The majority had risen through ability, often having served in administrative posts. Of the abbots of England not one in ten was summoned. Although the close rolls indicate which lords received writs of summons, in the case of only half a dozen parliaments do we know who responded. Nonetheless the surprising fact emerges that among the lay lords known to have been present at one time or another are to be found thirty-six for whom no writs of summons were enrolled on the close rolls. This shakes Colonel Wedgwood's confidence in the accepted theory of the peerage before 1536. That theory insists that there was need of a writ of summons even though a peer had his patent, that the recipients of writs for each parliament were designated by the king, and that the receipt of a writ conferred no right of summons to future parliaments and did not entitle an heir or the husband of a peerage heiress to receive a summons. During the years 1439-1509, however, the evidence, apart from that touching the thirty-six unsummoned lords, is that only one peer was left out permanently after having had a writ, that heirs, except one, received summons though not always promptly, and that the husband of a peerage heiress was always summoned and his son followed him. In 1453 and in 1456 a letter patent confirmed hereditary right and authorized a baron to attend without writ. Colonel Wedgwood concludes, after elaborate analysis of instances, that the growth of peerage "by custom", which Round thought characteristic of a later time, had already begun.

An analysis of the status of members of the Commons is presented, but unfortunately the categories are not mutually exclusive. To adapt somewhat its figures for parliaments about which information is fullest, we learn that in six parliaments, from 1442 to 1453, of the 74 knights of the shire 14 on the average were knights, 32 were J.P.'s, 22 were royal servants, 16 were lawyers, and 3 were "carpetbaggers", *i.e.*, nonresidents of the counties for which they respectively sat. Of the 191 burgesses identified (203 were returned) 102 on the average were resident, 4 were J.P.'s, 41 were royal servants, 34 were lawyers, and 42 were carpetbaggers.

Relying upon such figures, Colonel Wedgwood concludes, from an instructive examination of county and borough elections, that the royal servants, lawyers, and carpetbaggers represented extraneous interests, which utilized nomination boroughs, above all those of a half-dozen counties. "We are still far from the marketable borough of the 18th century, but the lists show that 'interest' was formidable in the 15th century." Yet in the larger towns the "community" of the electors resented "patronage", desiring to choose their own representatives. Important conclusions like these should be tested and refined by a further study of the careers and affiliations of members. Since the lists make further study possible, they are precious grist to the mill of students of representative government in the fifteenth

century, whose debt to Colonel Wedgwood is great. His introduction is stimulating and revealing.

Bryn Mawr College.

H. L. GRAY.

Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis, 1116-1786. Edidit D.

JOSEPHUS M^{ia} CANIVEZ. Tomus V, 1457-1490; Tomus VI, 1491-1542.

[Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique.] (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue. 1937; 1938. Pp. xi, 768; x, 790. 36 belgas each.)

THE nature of the business transacted at the general chapters of the Cistercian Order and the scope of the chapters' authority have been described in reviews of earlier volumes of this important work (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XL, 724-26; XLI, 796-97).

With the passing of time a more effective organization of the work of the general chapters was achieved. In the volumes before us the entries are neatly arranged under ten or a dozen heads which the official secretaries were instructed to list regularly in the same order (VI, 321). Among these heads of business are diffinitions, general and special, confirmations of elections, excused absences, reinstatement of members of the order who have fallen from grace, confirmations of contracts made by individual houses, special commissions, both administrative and judicial, prayers for special persons—the pope, the cardinals, the emperor, and the king of France being always included—and the conferring of spiritual benefits on a long list of benefactors. Preceding the entries for a given year is an imposing array of officers for the year, nearly all of whom were abbots. The amount of business transacted in a three-day session was large, and it grew with the years.

The more effectively the general chapters were organized, the more feeble they became. The years between 1457 and 1542 fall, of course, in a period which was full of evil for European monasticism. The Cistercian chapter records are full of the evidence for this. Attendance fell away to the point where there was no longer a sufficient number of abbots present to fill the offices. In an effort to improve attendance the time of meeting of the general chapters was changed in 1500 from the autumn to the spring of the year. Houses were constantly in arrears in their dues; those members who did bring contributions were admonished to drink no wine until they made their payments to the receivers. The educational work of the order suffered, also. Colleges were still maintained at Paris, Oxford, Toulouse, Heidelberg, Leipzig, and Vienna, but the houses failed to fill their quotas, and the students in attendance were far from orderly or studious (V, 152, 236). The crowning evil of "commendatory abbots" had fastened itself upon the Cistercian Order prior to 1437 and, despite repeated prohibition under heavy penalties, continued to sap the lifeblood of many houses. Slackness of discipline is chiefly evident in the lists of reinstatements, which grow longer and longer, of members who have fallen far below the austere

standards of St. Bernard. Secular princes began to petition for reform, and the order adopted many measures to that end, with little apparent effect.

In 1522 the general chapter forbade its members "to give ear to that perverse doctrine emanating from one named Luther or to read or possess his books" (VI, 593). From that time forward the order sought to inculcate sound Catholic doctrine more effectively through its colleges.

Boston University.

W. O. AULT.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Drake's Plate of Brass Authenticated: The Report on the Plate of Brass.

By COLIN G. FINK, Head of the Division of Electrochemistry, Columbia University, and E. P. POLUSHKIN, Consulting Metallurgical Engineer. With a Foreword by Allen L. Chickering, President of California Historical Society, and a Biographical Note on Professor Fink by Joel H. Hildebrand, Professor of Chemistry, University of California. (San Francisco: California Historical Society. 1938. Pp. 28. Plates 49. \$2.00.)

THE California Historical Society, in a special publication (no. 13), announced in April, 1937, the discovery of a plate of brass, with an inscription, which was said to be that set up by Drake at or near the bay of San Francisco in 1579. Unfortunately, the announcement was made and a sum of money subscribed to reward the finder before a careful study of the text, the writing, the orthography, and the material of the plate had been made by qualified experts (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLII, 863-64).

Professor Fink and Mr. Polushkin have now made a detailed study of the composition of the plate and the patina and a minute examination of the engraving of the letters. They have illustrated their text with some excellent photomicrographs. The sum of the conclusions drawn from their examination is that the plate is "old", but they do not say how old. They have failed to account for the high zinc content of 34-39 per cent (English fifteenth and sixteenth century brass rarely contains 30 per cent). They do not enlarge upon the extraordinary fact that carbon was found in the patina. The literature on the subject does not indicate that carbon has ever been found on an ancient copper or copper alloy; a forger, however, might use fire to bring about rapid oxidation. No evidence is submitted that the mineralized plant tissue discovered is not ash. It may even be an inorganic structure often seen on old metals and patinas, which has a similar appearance under the microscope. The authors show that there are sulphides in the patina, whereas these rarely occur on old metal, although they may be expected on forgeries which have been treated on the surface with sodium, potassium, or ammonium sulphide to produce rapidly a black patina.

The theories advanced by the authors to account for a number of curious

features of the plate are ingenious if unconvincing. They explain that the smooth areas next to the grooves may have been made to produce an illuminating effect and to facilitate reading. The parallel lines near the letters are accounted for by "an unusual, homemade mechanical device". The sharpness of some of the grooves is attributed to the "energetic cleaning" to which the plate has been subjected. The numerous indentations, they suggest, were possibly made by Indians who attacked the plate with their stone axes. If the plate is not genuine, it is equally possible that these indentations were made by the fabricator to give an appearance of age and hard usage.

Finally, the authors conclude that "On the basis of the above . . . findings, as well as other data herewith recorded, it is our opinion that the brass plate examined by us is the genuine Drake Plate referred to in the book, *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, published in 1628." Yet they have not brought forward any definite proof to show the exact age of the plate or a scintilla of evidence that Drake or his associates had any connection with it whatsoever.

Princeton University.

EARLE R. CALEY.

Huntington Library.

R. B. HASELDEN.

Theocracy and Toleration: A Study of the Disputes in Dutch Calvinism from 1600 to 1650. By DOUGLAS NOBBS, Lecturer in Political Science in the University of Edinburgh, Sometime Scholar and Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xiv, 280. \$4.65.)

It is unusual to see an English scholar exhibit such familiarity with Dutch Calvinism and with the original sources as does the author of the present work. He presents an excellent discussion of this very difficult subject, and he has rendered a service to many students and instructors in our American universities who are not in a position to pursue the Dutch and Latin sources of Dutch Calvinism in the seventeenth century.

Mr. Nobbs first analyzes the views of the orthodox Calvinists, known as the Contra-Remonstrants, who believed with Calvin that church and state must be left free to make their own laws but should assist each other in the enforcement of the same. In their opinion the ruler did not have the right to dictate to the clergy as to what their doctrines and rites should be. The author then discusses the pertinent works of four Arminians, or Remonstrants, including Hugo Grotius, to whose viewpoint he is more friendly than to that of their opponents. In his treatment, however, of Voetius, whom he properly considers the outstanding Calvinist theologian of the seventeenth century, he is very fair. He is of the opinion that Voetius derived his theory of the relation between the local congregation and the classis and synod from such Independents as Parker, Ames, and Jacob, who for a time were exiles in the Dutch Republic. But it is much more likely

that the Independents were affected by the Dutch Baptists, as C. Burrage has shown.

The author does not mention the notorious controversy between Grotius and Professor Sibrandus Lubbertus of the University of Franeker over the relation of church and state. Lubbertus was the most important Dutch Calvinist writer in the period from 1612 to 1625, and in his university a large number of English Puritans were educated, including the first president of Harvard. Mr. Nobbs also ignores Ubbo Emmius, the first rector of the University of Groningen, whose works dealing with the history of the Frisians contain startling views. Emmius was an orthodox Calvinist but expressed independent opinions regarding the rights of the people in the exercise of civil and ecclesiastical government. He and Lubbertus had a tremendous following in the northern provinces and did much for the rise of modern democracy. The two following titles should be added to the excellent bibliography presented by Mr. Nobbs: A. C. J. De Vrankrijker, *De staatsleer van Hugo de Groot en zijn Nederlandsche tijdgenooten* (Utrecht, 1937), and J. J. Boer, *Ubbo Emmius en Oost-Friesland* (Groningen, 1936).

The University of Michigan.

A. HYMA.

The Development of Religious Toleration in England from the Convention of the Long Parliament to the Restoration, 1640-1660: The Revolutionary Experiments and Dominant Religious Thought. By W. K. JORDAN. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1938. Pp. 560. \$5.00.)

IN spite of the many studies in the field of the Puritan Revolution, hitherto no historian has presented in detail the development of toleration in this period. This gap in our knowledge is now being filled by Professor Jordan. So carefully has he studied the years 1640-1660 that he has found material for two volumes. The first, with which we are concerned, is the third in his history of toleration. It traces the efforts made by the Independents and by Cromwell to introduce freedom of conscience and then studies in detail the contributions of the Presbyterians, the Independents, and the Baptists. The thought of the laymen, of the Anglicans, and of the "extremist groups" will be discussed in the last volume of the series.

It is paradoxical that the Baptists, who displayed such uncompromising militancy in proselytizing and placed such high barriers before church membership, should have contributed so much to the development of toleration. Essentially separatist, the Baptist sect, Dr. Jordan points out, nevertheless carried on its tolerant tradition by advocating freedom of conscience for all, even for non-Protestants. It is questionable, however, whether the sect, as a sect, was as far ahead of its time as Dr. Jordan believes, though it must be admitted that its leaders, both Arminian and Calvinist, made tremendous contributions to the development of toleration.

The separatism of the Independents, in itself illiberal in that it implied

the withdrawal of the saints from the company of the reprobates, proved to be the means of spreading abroad ideals of toleration. In their pamphlets and in the debates of the Westminster Assembly (which Dr. Jordan has summarized admirably) they pleaded the cause not only of their own sect but of others. Yet their charity was not extended outside Protestantism. The most valuable part of this section is the discussion of John Goodwin, whose spiritual pilgrimage from Calvinism to Arminianism is traced with sympathy and skill.

The Presbyterian group, like the Independents, as Dr. Jordan points out, also included men of widely diversified attitudes. Nowhere is the difficulty of putting the thinkers of this individualistic age into pigeonholes more clearly seen than in Dr. Jordan's classification of the Presbyterians into "Irreconcilables" and "Moderates". The first group Dr. Jordan blames for the failure to achieve a national church on a broad basis, with toleration for those who could not be included in it. Even the Moderates, however, never strayed far from the illiberal implications of Calvinism. Dr. Jordan, recognizing the failure of the Presbyterians to add to the development of toleration, finds their chief contribution in their "revolt against Arminianism". Yet it must be questioned whether in the first place they did check Arminianism, and whether in the second place, if they had, it would have aided freedom of thought. Calvinism and Arminianism lived side by side in the Church of the Restoration, but quietly (except for the Bull-Tully controversy) now that such rigid Calvinists as Lazarus Seaman and Edmund Calamy had left its ranks. A review is no place for a theological controversy, but it is certainly a disputable point whether the theology of Laud and Cosin had a "corroding influence".

Dr. Jordan has skillfully provided brief biographical sketches of the advocates and critics of toleration, so that men significant in their own day but now overlooked receive their proper recognition. The contributions of ministers, like Thomas Manton, and of laymen, such as John Cook and Samuel Richardson, are appraised, with the result that Roger Williams becomes merely an incident, although an important one, in the history of toleration. Yet Williams's contribution must not be underestimated, for he succeeded in putting toleration into practice. Our age, which sees Protestantism vainly dreaming of reunion, may find comfort in the thought that political liberty, which Dr. Jordan regards as the great contribution of sectarianism, is still intact in a few countries, at least. The author, very correctly, has deduced from his study the responsibility of this age to hold fast to this heritage.

Providence, Rhode Island.

ETHYN WILLIAMS KIRBY.

The Anatomy of Revolution. By CRANE BRINTON, Associate Professor of History, Harvard University. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1938. Pp. 326. \$3.00.)

Six Contemporaneous Revolutions. By ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. viii, 230. \$2.50.)

BOTH books would be normal academic products if their topic, "revolution", were not allergic to their method. They sum up facts, believing in them as facts; revolutions, however, proclaim what shall be called a fact in the universe, from now on. Mr. Brinton compares four revolutions: the French, Russian, English, and American, as though they were separate entities; and Mr. Merriman calls his book *Six Contemporaneous Revolutions*. In concentrating on the latter volume first, this common belief and its efficiency as well as its limitations will become clear. From 1640 to 1660 political unrest made itself felt all over Europe from the Ukraine to Spain, from Naples to Denmark. Everywhere, the lower estates, as John Knox had called them, tried to challenge the higher. This is one universal movement. In this one revolution Mr. Merriman has singled out six events—in Catalonia, Naples, England, France, Holland, and Portugal—and, after giving their particular histories in brief, with the exception of the English Civil War, he goes on to draw the lines of interplay between them. This chapter is the real contribution of the book. The political equation of the two decades has never been reduced so neatly to binomial relations as here. All the diplomatic negotiations between the six areas of unrest are listed. The student of political history will not even miss the narrative of the English revolution because it has been told so often. And since the over-complex particulars between Dutch and Portuguese, Neapolitan and Catalanian, French and English, etc., etc., are put before us in a straightforward fashion, we may forget that the number "six" conceals from us the common pattern of all and the problem of totality of this movement.

Mr. Brinton has written on the four revolutions which are foremost in an American's memory. He is not unaware of the quandary in which he finds himself as a historian, devoted to particulars, and as an adept of science, operating with abstractions like a "fever curve". He restates several rules. Revolutions are not made by destitute people. The intellectuals desert the old order of things before the revolution occurs. The sequence of moderates and extremists seems unalterable (with the exception of the American Revolution which Mr. Brinton excuses as a peculiar case). Terror and abstract virtue are found everywhere before a Thermidorian reaction. Because these generalities have long been known, beginning in fact with Hobbes and Goethe, the significance of the book is not in any of its positive statements. It lies in the fact that Brinton, who, by the way, does not give credit to the discoverers of these uniformities, asserts that his is the only "scientific" method. This is a relapse to the *more geometrico* superstition of Spinoza. Limiting his "facts" by the "case" method, Brinton fails to see why wars are essential elements in the pattern of 1789 and 1917, preceding the Russian, following the French revolution. Atomizing further, Brinton suggests that the rest of the world got hold of the decimal system

"without benefit of revolution". This is the logical conclusion when the French Revolution is treated as lasting only from 1789 to 1814. In this case the later adoption of the decimal system by other countries does not appear to be the fruit of French suffering.

To me the meaning of revolutions does not disclose itself to the man who thinks that he himself moves outside their orbit. It is not to be found in anything happening immediately after and during the fever but in habits, immunities, and powers developed generations and centuries later. Strangely enough Brinton recognizes this for the Spartans of antiquity (p. 229). From this point of view, the same revolutionary processes that are failures to Merriman and Brinton are to me highly rational and effective. To me revolutions call their particular generation back into the phylogenetic history of Man. Do not the authors owe their own chairs of history to the English, the French, the American revolution? Yet, responsibility for the future of social evolution is excluded from their patterns of scientific thinking. Hence the new barbarians reciprocate and exclude scientific thinking and teaching from *their* future world. The books testify to J. Benda's *Trahison des Clercs*. The academic scientists have imperiled our intellectual freedom. They have watched society instead of watching out for it.

Dartmouth College.

EUGEN ROSENSTOCK-HUESSY.

The Lord General: A Life of Sir Thomas Fairfax. By M. A. GIBB. (London: Lindsay Drummond. 1938. Pp. xv, 304. 12s. 6d.)

WHEN Sir Clements Markham wrote *The Great Lord Fairfax* (1870), Gardiner's *History of the Civil War* had not yet appeared. Miss Gibb, on the other hand, had access to Gardiner's monumental work and to such facts as more recent historians of the Puritan Revolution have unearthed. To anyone who expects a new biography of Fairfax to throw light on recesses of his life that were dark when Markham wrote, seventy years ago, Miss Gibb's book will be disappointing. True, her account of the campaigns in which Fairfax took part is somewhat more informative than Markham's. It gives us a clearer and more distinct idea of exactly what portion of the field Sir Thomas Fairfax occupied at any given time in any given battle. True also, Miss Gibb publishes some interesting examples of Sir Thomas's excursions into poetry, which seem to prove conclusively that in the scope of his talents Fairfax the bard had little in common with Fairfax the soldier and much in common with Fairfax the statesman. It is Fairfax the statesman, however, who piques the curiosity of the historian, and on this phase of his career Miss Gibb's biography, despite the informative morsels in it, is not entirely satisfactory.

Of the critical three years in Fairfax's political life, from 1645 to 1648, Miss Gibb's account is peculiarly conventional, peculiarly lacking in the inquisitiveness that makes for great biography. It may be that there are no

answers to the questions one wants to ask about Fairfax's political course from the time he became lord general: Did he condone or take part in the activities of the army to influence the election of new members to parliament? How much did he actually have to do with the promotion of radical officers like Barkstead, Hewson, Scroop, and Harrison? How soon did he become aware of the efforts of the Levellers to undermine the officers' control of the army? How closely did he associate himself with the activities of the predominant officer group led by Cromwell and Ireton? When such questions and a dozen more dealing with the relations between Fairfax and the factions in the army are answered, it may be possible to write a life of the lord general that is more than a rehash of the military history of the civil war. The job is still to do. Miss Gibb does not answer the essential questions. She does not even ask them.

Queens College.

J. H. HEXTER.

War at Sea under Queen Anne, 1702-1708. By J. H. OWEN, Commander, Royal Navy. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xii, 316. \$7.50.)

ENGLISH historians have long neglected their navy. Our own Captain Mahan, indeed, may be said to have taught his English cousins to appreciate its true significance. Corbett, it is true, thirty-five years ago dealt with the royal navy in the Mediterranean in the seventeenth century, but for its other manifold activities one must, for the greater part, depend upon the co-operative *History of the Royal Navy*, now forty years from the press. Commander Owen has made the first serious attempt to describe English naval achievements in European waters during the War of the Spanish Succession. His failure to include the West Indies might have occasioned greater disappointment had not Professor Ruth Bourne's *Queen Anne's Navy in the West Indies* appeared a few months ago. His brief treatment of the navy's efforts at Cadiz, Vigo, Gibraltar, and Minorca would have been disappointing also had these topics not been recently treated in some detail elsewhere. Even here the reader would welcome a summary, showing how the author differs from others in his interpretation of these events.

The elementary account of the functioning of the navy is well done, but the descriptions of convoy work and of the attack on Toulon are especially good. Marshal Vauban receives much less attention than his work as supervisor of privateering would suggest. The author thinks more highly of Prince George and of George Churchill, Marlborough's brother, than have most historians. He also feels that Sir John Norris has never received his fair meed of praise. In discussing the Cadiz fiasco he refrains from blaming anyone in particular. He seems of two minds as to the Earl of Peterborough's exploits at Barcelona, and he ascribes the failure before Toulon partly to the halfheartedness of Prince Eugene.

The style is clear but not distinguished. The index is excellent, but unfortunately the footnotes are placed for the most part at the close of the volume. Certain citations are a bit cryptic, such as "Board Minutes" for seven volumes of manuscripts.

The author has made a careful study of most of the English sources, published and unpublished. He has ignored, however, the French and Dutch sources, depending largely upon secondary authorities. Yet the Archives de la Marine and the Dépôt de la Guerre are replete with pertinent materials. The manuscript reports of many secret service agents of the period may be found in the British Museum and Record Office. The author might have made more use of the *Calendars of State Papers, Colonial and Domestic*. The *Calendars of Treasury Books* are also available in the Record Office. Contemporary newspapers and pamphlets have likewise been neglected. The older works of Daniel, *Histoire de milice française* (1724), and Quincy, *Histoire militaire du règne de Louis le Grand* (1726), are not cited, nor are the *Mémoires de St. Simon*, which contain much material upon the siege of Toulon and the capture of Barcelona. Secondary works such as Williams's *Stanhope* and Villestreux's *Deux corsaires malouins sous la règne de Louis XIV* would have proved useful. The author also neglected some excellent monographs. Although he has not worked in as many quarries as did M. Charles de la Roncière in preparing his *Histoire de la marine française*, Commander Owen has made a much more careful study of the English sources than any of his English predecessors have done.

Indiana University.

WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN.

Marlborough: His Life and Times. By The Right Honourable WINSTON S. CHURCHILL. Volume VI, 1708-1722. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1938. Pp. 670. \$2.75.)

WITH this volume Mr. Churchill lays down his pen as one who sheathes an avenging sword. Marlborough, persistently vilified by two of the sharpest, most incessant pens of his own day, Swift's and Defoe's, his memory brilliantly aspersed in the nineteenth century by Macaulay and Thackeray, has now found a sharp, tireless, brilliant pen to defend him. In this vindication Mr. Churchill has been anticipated by G. M. Trevelyan's sympathetic portrait of Marlborough in his *England under Queen Anne*, but in that temperate and humane work there is a charity widely inclusive of mortal frailty.

Mr. Churchill's assumption is that where there is knavery there must be knaves, and where there is heroism there must be a hero. He is baffled by mixtures. Unable to deny that Harley's peace policy was wise, that St. John's diplomacy was able, he is disconcerted that it should be so, as he is disgusted that Marlborough should have humiliated himself—and vainly—

for the sake of his wife's offices, and that he should have reminded Louis XIV of an offer of two million livres, drawing a delicate hairline between accepting the sum as a bribe and accepting it as payment for something he proposed to do 'anyway. Mr. Churchill's roots are in Victorian England, Marlborough's in the England of Charles II, and there are planes of conduct on which they cannot meet by whatever effort of biographical imagination. Disillusioned no less by the politics of his own age than by those of Marlborough's, Mr. Churchill constantly prefers the large, simple conclusions of the battlefield. On the inevitable transmutation of values by time he observes almost despairingly: "One rule of conduct alone survives as a guide to men in their wanderings: fidelity to covenants, the honour of soldiers, and the hatred of causing common woe" (p. 600). But this, one may protest, is not one rule but three, and Mr. Churchill's refusal to admit that the three monitors may fall out and point in three directions is the root of his wrongheadedness—as it seems to the reviewer—about the ultimate wisdom of the Peace of Utrecht, though there can be little doubt that the playing-fields of Eton and Harrow would justify him.

So much has already been said of this work, as the earlier volumes appeared (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLI, 332; XLIII, 376), that a brief estimate of the biography as a whole will here suffice. Perusal will not exempt a cautious reader from consulting Trevelyan, Feiling, Clark, Leadam, and Morgan, among recent writers, and from turning back to Klopp and Macaulay. But the cautious reader will have incautiously enjoyed Mr. Churchill's six volumes for the very length and leisureliness of the story, for the spontaneity and the free play of wit and malice, for the gift of style, and not least for the inherent interest of the unceasing battle between Mr. Churchill's cynicism and his conviction that man is above the brutes and must act accordingly. Mr. Churchill's view of history is fundamentally aristocratic. For him history is shaped by, is almost identical with, the *gesta* of great men inspired by *noblesse oblige*. The life of Marlborough has been, therefore, apart from family pride, a congenial task. If Mr. Churchill is here and there rasher and more partisan than the professional historian, he has not flouted the professional historian's verities. His experience in public affairs has constantly enriched the interest of his narrative. Without immersing himself to the drowning point in the polemical literature of the age of Anne, he has supplemented a painstaking and reflective study of the most important sources in several languages with hitherto unused material from the Blenheim archives. This latter, while unimportant for establishing facts of the first political or military consequence, is serviceable in rounding out the story and in throwing light on some of the more perplexing episodes of Marlborough's career.

Vassar College.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

The Second Tory Party, 1714-1832. By KEITH GRAHAME FEILING, Student of Christ Church and Sometime Fellow of All Souls College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. vii, 451. \$4.00.)

Mr. Feiling's *History of the Tory Party, 1640-1714*, published in 1924, is a stimulating and well-informed essay dealing with the political history of England in the seventy-five years indicated, from the point of view of the followers of such leaders as Clarendon, Danby, Sunderland, Nottingham, and Harley. Later he published a history of *British Foreign Policy, 1660-1672*. Both of these are useful books. When, in 1931, he was invited to give the Ford Lectures at Oxford, the author elected to carry forward his history of the Tory party. These lectures were the basis of the present volume.

Unfortunately, as Mr. Feiling admits, Professor Namier and others had in the meantime demonstrated that "in the modern sense of party" there was no Tory party until after the death of the younger Pitt. Moreover, Mr. Feiling discovered that the mass of materials for the political history of England in the period 1714-1832 is so enormous as to be beyond the capacity of a single man to examine in a lifetime. Nevertheless he decided to retain his title, in order to "link this work" with his earlier study and to "let this book go out, imperfect though it is, in the hope that it may have its use for . . . the genealogy of the party, and the inter-relations between its leaders". These disarming admissions may explain but do not justify the publication of the book in its present form.

Apparently Mr. Feiling has read widely in sources, some of them manuscripts in private hands not heretofore examined. He has used many of the familiar printed materials. Either, however, he neglected or thought it not worth while to consult books published in the United States. The exceptions noted are Bell's *Palmerston* and a citation (p. 414) of "American sources listed in Channing, 'History of the United States'". The bibliography is in the form of indicated abbreviations for the works cited, which the author does not uniformly utilize. As often as not he fails to indicate pages in a volume, volumes in a series, or whether the single term used is the name of an author or a title. Some of the notes are at the foot of the page, others at the end of the volume. In support of a paragraph concerning general aspects of the administration of the younger Pitt (p. 165), a reader is directed to "See especially D. Pulteney's letters, Rutland papers (H. Mss.), and Pitt Mss. P. R. O.; Lonsdale, 184." The note "Holderness to Jenkinson, 24 Nov. 1761, (reference mislaid)" is not very convincing, and it comes at the foot of a page in the text (71) reserved, according to the preface, for "references . . . to manuscript sources which it seemed desirable to identify as making a new point, or change of emphasis". The statement that "the question of authorities" has been dealt with "in a rough-and-ready way" would seem to be entirely justified.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find in too many places

inaccuracies of detail and carelessness concerning facts, not to mention judgments from which others would dissent. The cases noted are too numerous to mention in a review. A more serious weakness, perhaps, is the failure of the author to pay considered attention to either of the major terms in his title. Undoubtedly there were political parties of a sort throughout most of the period treated by Mr. Feiling, and the use of the term "Tory" in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, whether by individuals speaking of themselves or by speakers and writers with reference to others, is a matter of interest and importance worthy of investigation, but Mr. Feiling has no contribution to make on this point. The machinery of party organization and the methods of political controversy which later became conventional in English politics were developing in this century of change and flux. Mr. Feiling, however, seems to be only occasionally aware that parties had organizations and techniques of procedure.

Finally, some of the author's efforts to achieve an epigrammatic style are not happy. For example, the association of a single adjective with the name of a public figure, such as "foolish Londonderry", "tearful Goderich", "the buffoon Wetherall", and "coarse Croker", would scarcely seem to be discriminating characterizations.

Duke University.

W. T. LAPRADE.

The English Business Company after the Bubble Act, 1720-1800. By ARMAND BUDINGTON DuBois. [Foundation for Research in Legal History, Columbia University School of Law, edited by Julius Goebel, jr.] (New York: Commonwealth Fund. 1938. Pp. xxi, 522. \$5.00.)

THE century following the Bubble Act—that instance of panic legislation which, as Maitland says, "seems to scream at us from the Statute Book"—has been taken to be a blank period in the history of the joint-stock company in Great Britain. The fact that Henry English computed in his *Complete View* that the nominal capital of the companies floated in 1824-25 amounted to close on £500,000,000 is in itself sufficient to show that, despite the Bubble Act, there were joint-stock activities, steadily developing even if underground. The study of this underground working has been accomplished in the most satisfactory manner by Mr. DuBois.

Briefly the problem was how the increasing needs of industry and commerce for capital were to be met. Under the Bubble Act a charter might be obtained, but the path to it was made very difficult, and "bona fide business was driven from Whitehall by the bureaucratic obstructivism of the Crown Officials". The alternative was to get round the act by solving the problem, "when is a company (for business purposes) not a company (*vis-à-vis* the Bubble Act)". This problem was not beyond the ingenuity of the lawyers of the eighteenth century. Accordingly, Mr. DuBois has exercised great industry in tracing out the opinions of the prototypes of the American

"corporation lawyer". This discovery—for it is nothing less—is deserving of the greatest praise. Opinions of counsel, from the nature of the circumstances, are not usually distinguished by lightness of touch, and so one is in danger of giving the impression that this book may be solid but of the heavy type. Nothing could be a greater mistake. Solid, even weighty, it is, but at the same time it is written with brightness and, indeed, very great charm. It begins, true enough, with the opinions in chambers, but it does not forget the quips of counsel or the wit of dinners of the Bar.

In the new field which Mr. DuBois has cultivated so successfully there are many points which are of very great interest, as for instance the "cutting force" of the Bubble Act in limiting the promotion of patents for new inventions. Did it delay the coming of the industrial revolution; or did that revolution come in due season because ways had been found to circumvent the act? The trend towards limited liability receives further illumination. As to the related question of calls on stockholders and shareholders, I think there was a difference between stock and shares in this matter. To some extent the modern share of fixed denomination is misleading. The primitive share expanded as capital was required and sometimes became unwieldy, as for instance in the case of the New River Company, with a consequent division into fractions, as happens in partnerships in shipowning (*e. g.*, a sixty-fourth share in a ship). Articles of association, used as a measure to circumvent the Bubble Act, might be misunderstood if it were thought that this was their original purpose. The Newmills Company (founded in 1681) had not only articles but a memorandum for subscriptions to the capital. The splitting of stock for voting purposes was clearly adopted from the practice which prevailed in parliamentary representation. The relation of the Scottish "seal of cause" to incorporation is an obscure matter which has several ramifications. These and other interesting topics I have followed invariably with the highest appreciation, though not always with complete agreement.

The position relating to stock and share certificates (p. 360) may be clarified, as I chance to have a few specimens. Law was credited with introducing the bearer share. I have one "au Porteur" of the Compagnie des Indes, dated 1785. It bears the impressed seal of the company and still retains a coupon for the seventh dividend, the amount and date of which were to be determined by the administration. Bearer scrip has never been popular in England. Of registered stocks there appear to have been two types. One was of the nature of the modern inscribed stock, where the stockholder or his attorney must attend personally to inscribe the name of the new owner in the official record. That is the type of case referred to by Mortimer in 1760 (*Every Man his own Broker*) where he describes how the purchaser receives a receipt for the completed transfer, which should be kept till the first dividend has been received and then destroyed to avoid

confusion to heirs, thereby indicating that such receipt was not surrendered on a sale being made. Of quite a different type is a parchment, two feet long, relating to the 3 per cent annuities of 1738. This has a printed heading with blanks for the name of the proprietor and the amount of the stock. Then follow successive manuscript entries of interest payments, initialed by the recipient. It is evident that on change of ownership or a conversion operation this type of document was surrendered, since specimens bear an endorsement of transfer on a sale or, in the case of a death, the name of the inheritor.

The University, Glasgow.

W. R. SCOTT.

The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850. By D. G. CREIGHTON. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, James T. Shotwell, General Editor.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. vii, 441. \$3.75.)

THE waterway formed by the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes is an important part of the mold in which Canada was cast. During the century which followed the conquest of New France, a far-flung commerce depended upon this superb system of rivers and lakes and upon the hinterlands which formed their economic watershed. Professor Creighton's book is a study of this commerce and of how the interests vested in it affected politics and policy. Generally speaking, the two Canadas were not a political success during the period, and the author suggests that a conflict of economic interests, in which the river commerce was a principal combatant, goes far toward explaining why this was so. Primarily this work is not economic history, but an economic interpretation of political history.

Interesting interpretations are based upon an extensive body of material. Among much that is valuable in this study, it is probable that the author's most important contribution is the light which he has thrown upon the causes of the rebellions of 1837. No reader of this book will fail to be grateful to him for his versatile and vital style, even though his fondness for colorful and sweeping adjectives sometimes leads him a short step away from the path of pedantic virtue. He has, too, an obvious gift and taste for vivid character sketches in black and white. Four informative maps are provided; two of these, however, might well have been enlarged or simplified.

When he approaches the policy of the British government during the sixty years which followed the conquest, the author is less sure-footed than at other times. To take one example, the decision to respect the cherished institutions of the French Canadians is run through the mill of adverse criticism and comes out ground exceeding small. It is true that this policy could be carried out only at the expense of that not entirely savory little band of Uitlanders who had come in on the heels of the soldiers and

occupied the strongholds of Canadian commerce. Yet even so, surely the decision has a smack of generosity and tolerance about it which merits a kind word.

The author is perhaps too prone to see an action as the product of a single motive and to minimize the importance of those motives for action that are not economic. Nevertheless this is an extremely good book and a really important contribution to the understanding of Canadian history. The story of the St. Lawrence, in all its fullness, will be written some day; and when it is, Professor Creighton's book will afford much aid and comfort to the historian who writes it. It may be that the historian in question will be Professor Creighton himself.

Yale University.

GILBERT TUCKER.

Foundations of British Foreign Policy from Pitt (1792) to Salisbury (1902) or Documents, Old and New. Selected and edited, with Historical Introductions, by HAROLD TEMPERLEY, Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, and LILLIAN M. PENSON, Professor of Modern History in the University of London. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xxx, 573. \$7.50.)

Britain and the Dictators: A Survey of Post-War British Policy. By R. W. SETON-WATSON, Masaryk Professor of Central European History in the University of London. (*Ibid.* Pp. xviii, 460. \$3.50.)

In the first of these volumes Professors Temperley and Penson have done more than to assemble a valuable collection of documents illustrating the policies of nineteenth century foreign secretaries; they have also brought out in their excellent introductions to each section the extent to which these policies reflected a common political outlook. Even in itself, the publication of nearly two hundred documents, including many drawn from official archives and private papers and appearing in print for the first time, is a distinctive service. With a few exceptions, they refer to British policy in Europe and deal with such issues as intervention, guarantees, recognition, balance of power, and British attitudes towards conflicting Continental ideologies.

The principle of selection has definitely been affected by the editors' interest in current situations, but this is only saying that the fundamental problems with which British statesmen have had to deal in Europe recur in a variety of forms. Without deliberately choosing materials to this end, the editors are able to show a striking continuity of ideas behind British diplomacy. What they do not emphasize is that some continuity of policy over the span of a century is possible only when, and because, the formulations are qualified and elastic. The key to British policy lies in the insistence on freedom of action to serve British interests as each individual case may require. The most consistent principle forbade the adoption of principle: Castlereagh's prescription—"This country cannot, and will not, act upon

abstract and speculative Principles of Precaution"—runs like a thread through British policy from Canning and Palmerston to Salisbury's refusal to join the Triple Alliance in 1901. The rule of nonintervention did not forbid action if British interests were directly menaced; the principle of the balance ensured independence of British policy and could be waived by Gladstone in favor of concert. Professors Temperley and Penson have provided an admirable collection of diplomatic materials with their own judicious interpretations; it deserves to be supplemented by a careful study of those British interests and of the conceptions of interest. It is a curious commentary on the forms of British diplomacy that practically nowhere in these documents is there mention of trade or investments as being in the slightest degree involved in the calculations of policy.

Despite its subtitle, there is less of British foreign policy in Professor Seton-Watson's book than of the dynamics of European situations with which postwar British statesmen have had to deal. The central portion of his study is devoted to an analysis of the forces and ideas underlying the major European dictatorships—Russia, Italy, and Germany—and other chapters survey some of the various issues in European diplomacy since the World War. While the material in these pages reflects the extensive personal and documentary knowledge as well as the penetrating insight of the author, it suffers grievously at times from apparent hasty assemblage and consequent lack of synthesis. It may exceed the best in current journalism, but it does not attain the stature of integrated history. Much of it is pamphleteering.

Of the three dictatorships, Professor Seton-Watson finds that Germany and Italy present the more difficult problems for Great Britain. Agreement with Germany he regards as the chief requisite for European peace (p. 409), but agreement must not involve capitulation. Writing before the collapse of Austria, he repudiates any notion of abandoning Central Europe to its fate, not primarily for sentimental or moral reasons (although Professor Seton-Watson is far from consistent on this point) but because of the balance of power principle. In another place he urges that foreign policy should be framed "not only by what we wish but by what is attainable" (p. 402). If this sane maxim be followed, it is difficult to see how Great Britain with her great sea but insignificant land power could have prevented German successes in Central Europe without thrusting the brunt of the early and perhaps most costly fighting onto others.

University of Pennsylvania.

WILLIAM P. MADDOX.

Mémoires du duc de Broglie (Jacques-Victor-Albert, 1821-1901), de l'Académie française. Tome I, 1825-1870. Avec une préface de son petit-fils. (Paris: Calmann-Lévy. 1938. Pp. vii, 380. 45 fr.)

This volume is full of interesting anecdote and pertinent information. The first part of it is concerned with what Broglie's parents told him of

conditions during the Restoration. There are many passages of lively interest, especially those describing his father, a liberal noble and *philosophe*, and his relations with an ultraroyalist and Catholic peasantry. This provides an excellent description of the state of mind of the peasantry and small villagers during the reigns of Louis XVIII and Charles X and their gradual conversion to more liberal principles.

With the July Monarchy the personal memoirs themselves really begin, and the pages are filled with comments illustrating the social regime, with its divisions and antagonisms, well worth the perusal of every student of French history. There is considerable behind-the-scenes treatment of the political rivalries, especially that of Guizot and Thiers. To the Broglies Guizot was a paragon of wise and virtuous policies, and, while they were annoyed by the rapid and breathtaking transformations of Thiers, they recognized his ability, and this in spite of the fact that they were hardly welcome in his salon.

The younger Broglie's preparation for public life consisted in his experience as secretary to his father, active participation in the "parlotes" or debating societies formed by the young Parisians during the July Monarchy, and service at the Ministère des Affaires étrangères. This was followed by his appointment as secretary to the famous Monsieur Rossi at Rome, for whom Broglie always cherished respect and affection. The account which the young secretary gives of the situation in Italy and of the early and successful reign of Pius IX is detailed and important. His astonishment at the apparent cessation of political disturbance is equalled only by his amazement at the rapid development of the uprisings which followed the February Revolution. These chapters contain many important relations not the least of which is his explanation and defense of Rossi.

The year 1848 found Broglie deprived of his appointment and excluded from his career. Thereafter his activities were concentrated on literary pursuits, excursions into religious history, and newspaper polemics. In 1851 he seconded his father's efforts to bring about a reconciliation of all the royalists in an effort to curb the ambitions of Louis Napoleon. After this failure he became a member of this group—a group apart, inactive, and yet ever on the alert, waiting for the inevitable collapse of the regime against which, in protest, its members abstained from participation in political life.

This volume is charmingly written. Throughout there is a deprecating tone which comes from the younger Broglie's inherent and recognized modesty but which does not conceal an acute and studious intelligence. As a commentary on the times the volume is of very real value. There is no indication in the preface as to the date when these memoirs were composed.

Yale University.

JOHN M. S. ALLISON.

Germany and England: Background of Conflict, 1848-1894. By RAYMOND JAMES SONTAG, Associate Professor of History in Princeton University. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1938. Pp. xvii, 362. \$3.50.)

THIS substantial work, obviously completed and sent to press before the crisis of September, 1938, explains more successfully than the numerous writings of 1939 why the Munich agreement failed to bring "peace for our time". For years after the war the feeling was widespread in both England and Germany that the two peoples, supposedly friendly in the past except during the reign of William II, when the ambitious naval policy of that ruler made them enemies, had a great deal in common, and undoubtedly sincere efforts were made in both countries to remove the causes of dispute and to establish friendly relations. It was this disposition of the English people which enabled Mr. Chamberlain to pursue his policy of "appeasement", and it was this same temper which caused the German people to hail him—rather than their own master—as the savior of peace. Yet in less than six months Anglo-German relations had become as tense as they had been at any time before 1914. Quite without design, Professor Sontag has shown why such a result was to be expected, for what has been happening in the two countries in the last hundred years makes for conflict, not for confidence and friendship. Although his study is confined to the years from 1848 to 1894, the factors which then came into play still remain and have probably been strengthened.

Down to 1871 "Cobdenite" England was disposed to look down on Germany as "the poor relation", as Mr. Sontag aptly calls Part I of his book, which was resented and never forgotten in Germany, where deep jealousy of the rich cousin prevailed. Equally offensive to Germany was the diplomacy of "Palmerstonian" England. But when Germany achieved unification—or what then passed for unification—without the aid of and almost in spite of England, the English did not forget the humiliations imposed on them by Bismarck, who, for the rest of his career, was regarded by most Englishmen as an unscrupulous diplomatist and a dangerous enemy. Bismarck's repudiation of liberalism, his cult of power, his quarrel with the Crown Prince Frederick, and his highhanded methods made him detested and abhorred to a degree that is now but faintly realized.

For Part II Mr. Sontag uses the heading "Natural Allies, 1871-1894". It is true that from time to time Bismarck was pleased to argue that England and Germany were natural allies, and occasionally British statesmen—Beaconsfield at the Berlin Congress, Salisbury in the late eighties, Rosebery for a moment in 1893—were disposed to take the same line. But Mr. Sontag's admirable and dispassionate narrative, which is not a dry diplomatic chronicle but a spirited weaving together of internal and external policies in both countries, reveals that they were anything but "natural allies", and that only when both happened to be piqued at the same time with France or

Russia were they able to achieve some informal co-operation. Each was fearful of being used to pull the other's chestnuts out of the fire. Britain was reluctant to recognize Germany's colonial aspirations; and the latter, to bring London to reason, resorted to methods which often savored of blackmail. There is no doubt that German opinion became increasingly hostile to England and that the English were never able to understand the reasons for this. By 1894 both official and unofficial relations between the two countries had lost even the outward semblance of cordiality.

Not much imagination is required to see that Anglo-German relations since 1933 bear much resemblance to what they were in the days of Bismarck, and not a few of Mr. Sontag's sentences apply pertinently to the present situation (March, 1939). "The English followed Bismarck's lightning transformation of the map and of the German mind with mixed incredulity and disgust. Invariably, they were still trying to understand the move which he had just completed when his next move confronted them with a new inexplicable situation" (p. 79). "Each time Bismarck's trickery became obvious he relied on English military weakness to prevent hostile action, and on the gullibility of the London government for the possibility of renewed deception; each time England acted as he had foretold" (p. 88). To Treitschke, as to Hitler, "Jews, Catholics, socialists, and democrats were the enemies at home" (p. 326). But why go on? Not for a long time has the reviewer read a historical work which so brilliantly illuminates a contemporary situation, and Mr. Sontag is to be congratulated on a dual achievement.

The University of Chicago.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

The Elgin-Grey Papers, 1846-1852. Edited with Notes and Appendices by Sir ARTHUR G. DOUGHTY, Late Dominion Archivist Emeritus. Four volumes. [Published by authority of the Secretary of State under the direction of the Acting Dominion Archivist.] (Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude. 1937. Pp. xx, 1663.)

THE publication of the Elgin-Grey Papers is a concluding generous contribution of the late Dominion archivist at Ottawa to the service of Canadian history. We are once more reminded of the debt which students of Canadian history owe to Sir Arthur Doughty, untiring collector of documents, faithful servant in reminding his government of its duties towards Dominion historiography, and generous helper of all who sought his aid. Ill health compelled Sir Arthur to relinquish at an early stage the task of editing these four volumes; to that may be attributed their two most serious defects—the inclusion, especially in volumes three and four, of much unnecessary material, and the reproduction, in spelling and punctuation, of many trivial flaws in the originals (or the typed copies), which, very markedly in punctuation, are a source of irritation to the reader.

Criticism of formal defects must not, however, be allowed to obscure the high importance of this correspondence for students of Canadian history and British colonial policy. Here, not in official dispatches but in intimate and frank private letters, are the opinions of the governor-general who effectively introduced Canadian self-government and of the colonial secretary who co-operated with him in his work. Between January, 1847, and December, 1854, the Earl of Elgin put into practice what his father-in-law, Lord Durham, had asked for in his *Report*; and down to 1852 he had the astonishing good fortune to have at the colonial office, in Earl Grey, not merely a kinsman but a kindred spirit in political ideas.

The letters illustrate, and quicken our interest in, all the great issues then at stake. Here may be seen Elgin at work, guessing as a novice at the errors of his predecessors and then moving with the ease and certainty of a master to the conclusion that colonial self-government was not a concession weakening to the empire but the secret of its future strength and continuance. In the same way, through the sharp struggle over the Rebellion Losses Bill of 1849 and the Annexation movement of the same year, the correspondence furnishes a unique object lesson, worked out in detail, on the methods of securing real appeasement and of subduing, through cautious wisdom, the heats of provincial party strife. One is reminded, as one reads, how many of the later characteristic features of Canadian government manifested themselves under Elgin's regime—among others, the innate conservatism of French-Canadian nationalism and the discovery that, whichever party was to prevail, its policy would be one of liberal-conservatism.

Space permits only a bare reference to the joint work of Elgin and Grey, as revealed in these letters, for the development of Canadian resources and of a more rational basis of friendship with the United States, founded on a saner tariff policy. The change of government in England in 1852, which cost Grey his secretaryship, brought his fruitful co-operation with Elgin to an end, so that the latter's culminating success in the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States in 1854 falls outside the limits of these letters. Nevertheless, students of economic relations between Canada and the United States will find in them an admirable introduction to the more decisive events of 1854.

The lasting impression, which not even the final volume and a half of unnecessary materials can blur or weaken, is that of a period full of difficulties, animosities, and errors, guided into success and happiness by one of the few "canny Scots" whose caution and good sense raised him to the heroic pitch. Nor will readers fail to see how much Grey's loyalty helped Elgin's splendid sobriety, and how much the success of both statesmen was due to the admirable political qualities of the colony which they helped to start on its career towards nationhood.

University of Durham, England.

J. L. MORISON.

Quellen zur deutschen Politik Österreichs, 1859-1866. Unter Mitwirkung von OSKAR SCHMID herausgegeben von HEINRICH RITTER VON SRBIK. Band V¹⁻², *August, 1865-August, 1866.* [Deutsche Geschichtsquellen des 19. Jahrhunderts.] (Oldenburg i. O.: Gerhard Stalling. 1938. Pp. xxvii, 1023. 76 M. for the whole volume.)

How Francis Joseph and his advisers championed the federal system in Germany against the onslaughts of Prussianism, how the Gastein Convention produced only a temporary calm before the storm, how the peace offensive of Mensdorff, the Austrian foreign minister, went down to defeat, how Bismarck and Italy forced Francis Joseph to begin the armament race, and finally how Austria's debacle spelled the end of German Confederation—all this and more is seen, with a wealth of detail, in Professor Srbik's last volume of documents upon Austria's German policy from 1859 to 1866. (For reviews of the earlier volumes see the *American Historical Review*, XLI, 143; XLII, 539; XLIII, 391.)

In winding up the affairs of the refugee Frankfurt Diet, in August, 1866, the last Austrian president asked the delegates to refrain from criticism and to leave a final judgment to history. Not for three generations was it possible to judge from a knowledge of the original documents. A Harvard study, *Franz Joseph and Bismarck* (1934), made the first such attempt. The documents are now generally accessible in this admirable series just completed.

In this last volume about fifty new letters and memoranda from private archives add important facts to existing knowledge but do not alter previous conclusions. Much new light is thrown upon Mensdorff's personality and upon that most zealous opponent of Bismarck, Baron Biegeleben, before whose mind, it now appears, hovered the vision of the revival of the Holy Roman Empire (No. 2939 surely represents Biegeleben's ideas). By contrast, there is little new light upon Francis Joseph and none whatever upon those enigmatic characters, Esterhazy and Crenneville, who probably stood closer to the emperor than all others.

Letters exchanged between Mensdorff and Richard Metternich, ambassador in Paris, now complete the picture of the ultra-secret negotiations with Napoleon III, leading to the much criticized treaty of June 12, 1866. Like Bismarck, the Austrians tried to turn Napoleon's desires from the Rhineland to Belgium. Metternich suggested facilitating this change by transplanting the Belgian Coburgs to the throne of a neutral Rhine-Westphalian state (No. 2585). Thus these new documents support the reviewer's contention that Austria did not offer German territory to France, whereas Sybel and Oncken have affirmed the contrary.

The texts are remarkably complete and accurate, but two of the "corrections" of dates, on page xxvii, are still incorrect (Nos. 2125, 2610); and the military arrangements of the Gablenz compromise (No. 2763) are, in

the reviewer's opinion, erroneously attributed to Bismarck and Abeken (note 1). In all probability, the enlarged version of article 5 was mainly the work of Roon or Moltke. It was later incorporated almost bodily in Bismarck's famous reform proposals of June 10—a fact hitherto unnoticed—which, in turn, became the basis for the constitution of the German Empire.

A final word upon the three thousand documents of the Srbik-Schmid collection must be one of praise for the magnitude of the achievement with such limited funds. One renounces the luxuries of adequate cross references and references to published works in order to have in print all the essential sources upon the diplomacy of Austria in the most decisive years of modern German history.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

CHESTER W. CLARK.

Germans in the Cameroons, 1884-1914: A Case Study in Modern Imperialism. By HARRY R. RUDIN, Assistant Professor of History and Fellow of Pierson College, Yale University. [Yale Historical Publications.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. 456. \$4.00.)

Germany's First Bid for Colonies, 1884-1885: A Move in Bismarck's European Policy. By A. J. P. TAYLOR, Lecturer in History in the University of Manchester. [Studies in Modern History, University of Manchester.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. v, 103. \$2.75.)

THE first and more elaborate of these studies is the result of ten years' research not only among all the relevant documents, including the archives of the German foreign office, happily then (1932-33) fully available, but on the very scene of the monograph itself, where officials, traders, planters, and natives were personally interviewed. One quarter of the book is devoted to excellent descriptions of the area and its explorations and to an account of the German occupation, the latter somewhat marred by its inadequate treatment, due no doubt to its introductory character. The remaining three quarters contain the author's essential and valuable contribution: a complete picture of the colonial administrative machinery with its motivating interests; a detailed description of the exploiting traders and planters, affording a microcosm of this type of economic imperialism; and, finally, a well-documented study of every department of native life. A thorough, conscientious, informative work, it contains much new material and leaves little of the subject unexplored. It is equipped with a good index and an annotated bibliography.

The very thoroughness of the study is perhaps responsible for the unfortunate tendency of the author to generalize from this one example about all German colonial administration and to characterize it in a manner which the facts presented hardly appear entirely to justify. "My own conclusion is that Germany's colonial accomplishments in thirty short years constitute a record of unusual achievement and entitle her to a very high

rank as a successful colonial power" (p. 11). "I feel that if Germany had been allowed to continue as a colonial power, her civil rule would have compared favorably with the very best that the world knows today" (p. 419). These unqualified statements, it must be noted, are deduced from a study of only one of Germany's four former African colonies. Moreover, the author makes the following points regarding the Cameroons: it was "no economic asset . . . required huge grants-in-aid and loans every year . . . never made Germany independent . . . for important raw material . . . never attracted large amounts of German capital . . . did not attract settlement by . . . Germans" (p. 418). This list of failures makes it difficult to understand upon what the opinion of Germany's "success" is based. Again, in regard to native administration, there was decided improvement, to be sure, after 1906, when Colonial Secretary Dernburg instituted his reforms. But it must be remembered that these years (1906-14) represent only seven out of thirty. Considering German colonial rule as a whole, in all the colonies, this reviewer heartily agrees with Mr. Rudin that it was unjustly maligned in 1919. It was, probably, no better and no worse than that of any other colonial power, conditions being equal. But she finds it difficult to endorse his enthusiasm as evidenced in the above quotations. His own facts do not bear out his conclusion. Among them are: "After 1888, there was scarcely a year without open hostilities in some part of the colony" (p. 307); in 1914 the most important and advanced tribe was on the verge of rebellion, and the German authorities, "believing in prevention as well as in punishing what was regarded as high treason, had Manga Bell (the chief) executed" (p. 413).

Mr. Taylor's book represents quite another approach to the subject: it describes the origin of the German colonial empire neither in Africa nor in Germany but only as a part of diplomacy. Essentially a study in international relations, it seeks to fit Bismarck's colonial policy into the structure of contemporary European politics. Relying entirely upon a searching analysis of British, German, and French documents, the author illumines, as has never been done before, all aspects of Bismarck's deliberately provocative quarrel over "ownerless lands adjoining . . . British colonies" or lying "near British strategic routes" as a means of drawing closer to France, a quarrel resulting in the founding of the German colonial empire.

As one follows Mr. Taylor's lucid account, there can be no doubt of the soundness of his thesis, up to a certain point. Indeed his emphatic confirmation of the purposefulness of Bismarck's colonial policy is especially gratifying in view of the commonly repeated assertions that the chancellor "simply changed his mind" about colonies or was "pushed into" expansion overseas. These interpretations Mr. Taylor explicitly repudiates and correctly so. On the other hand, however, it would seem that he presses his thesis somewhat too far when he claims that Bismarck's foreign policy is the

sole explanation of the origin of Germany's colonial empire. To state that the "German colonies were the accidental by-product of an abortive Franco-German entente" (p. 6) is to tell only part of the story, a very important part, to be sure, but to ignore Bismarck's long concern with the colonial question as one of commercial protection and his increasingly favorable response to colonial enthusiasts at home and abroad.

An interesting introduction surveys later colonial disputes between England and Germany up to 1914 and suggests that the close relationship between the European situation and colonial questions continued after 1884-85, a conclusion particularly significant in view of the present German demands.

Columbia University.

MARY E. TOWNSEND.

Social and Economic History of Germany from William II to Hitler, 1888-1938: A Comparative Study. By W. F. BRUCK, Visiting Professor and Research Scholar in the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire. With a Foreword by J. F. Rees. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xv, 291. \$4.50.)

PROFESSOR Bruck's essay attempts an analysis rather than a narrative of the economic development of Germany during the last half century. It is distinguished by the relative detachment with which it succeeds in exploring economic structure, social policy, and ideology. Detachment, however, does not for Bruck mean absence of preconceptions. He is explicit in rejecting the classical theory of laissez-faire capitalism and the competitive price system as universally valid norms for measuring the facts of economic history. On the other hand he does not accept the Marxian dialectic. "It is not a question of individualism versus socialism, for both are inseparable parts of Economic Society and co-exist even if one is latent" (p. 23). Individual initiative must always exist, whether at the hands of a private entrepreneur, a bureaucrat, or a "leader", and so must elements of planning. It is Bruck's contention that the latter element has always predominated in German economic structure and ideology, except for a brief stage of early industrialism (the early years of Bismarck).

The main body of the essay is devoted to tracing the continuous development of planned economic structure through three recent stages: the era of finance capitalism under William II, the era of mixed enterprise during the World War and the Weimar Reich, and that of the Third Reich (which is regarded as still transitional), in which the state is dominant. Discussion of the latter two phases derives special cogency from the fact that Professor Bruck as organizer of the Cotton Control Board during the war was intimately associated with men like Rathenau and Moellendorf, who formulated, in part in actuality and in part on paper, most of the economic structure of the present. The continuity of bureaucratic personnel

during the Weimar Reich is emphasized. The socialist governments after the war had no plans other than those which Rathenau and Moellendorf had devised, which they sought to reject. But Germany's international position carried the regime steadily toward planned autarchy. Bruck describes in much detail how the continued development of cartels and the interpenetration of banking and industrial capital, leading to rationalization, worked in the same direction. The growth of mixed enterprises, combining public and private capital and control in various proportions, brought a similar convergence. Germany became dominated by quasi-private economic structures which combined supply and demand functions.

The only revolutionary feature of the Nazi regime is the coercive intervention of the state and party. State control is also exerted in various directions through the monopoly either of supply or of demand and through the taxation system, which collects nearly half of the national dividend. The independent entrepreneur is being transformed virtually into a public functionary. Of these later developments Bruck is inclined to think that Nazi ideology is an effect rather than a cause. The economic goals and most of the structures had already developed, with the exception of investment control, of which more might have been made. Some elements were borrowed directly from Soviet Russia. Bruck views the budgetary and agricultural policies of the Third Reich with most concern.

Thus Bruck does not regard the Third Reich as having rescued Germany from a communist menace, or as the triumph of finance capitalism, or as the destruction of a promising movement toward labor democracy, but as the logical, though not final, development of German ideas and institutions. Although the book is difficult to read, it is a revealing study from the standpoint of what Hobson calls "reformed capitalism figuring as disinterested expertism".

Wellesley College.

LELAND H. JENKS.

An Economic History of Modern Britain: Machines and National Rivalries, 1887-1914, with an Epilogue, 1914-1929. By J. H. CLAPHAM, Vice-Provost of King's College and Professor of Economic History. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xiv, 577. \$7.00.)

MORE than thirty years ago Professor Clapham planned an economic history of Great Britain during the nineteenth century; more than twenty years ago the plan was drawn up in some detail. The first volume of the *Economic History of Modern Britain* appeared in 1926, the second in 1932, and this third and concluding volume in 1938. *Laus Deo* says Professor Clapham as he finishes the preface of the last volume, and all students of English economic history re-echo the sentiment, though with quite different feelings from his own.

Professor Clapham's plan called for a work on a fairly large scale, running from 1820 to 1914, with an epilogue which was at first intended to cover the decade from 1914 to 1924. The work of statisticians on wages and prices was to be used as a constant check upon the familiar historical legend. As far as possible the story was to be made quantitative. The "dimension of things" was to be made clear, or at least an attempt was to be made to offer dimensions in place of blurred masses of unspecified size. As a balance to the unreality of generalized statistical statement the special fortunes of individual industries and of different localities were to be surveyed constantly.

How have these purposes been carried out? The finished work covers 1685 pages of text, forming a storehouse of facts from which even the specialist in English economic history may draw new information on almost any point. For no country or period is there available in a single work so complete a set of figures by which the dimension of things can be gauged in matters of population, wages, prices, the size of factories, the amount of power in use, the volume of trade, and other mensurable quantities. Prices, wages, fluctuations in the volume of trade, and unemployment are kept steadily before the reader as essential factors in the light of which the state of the development of British economic and social life may be judged. (For reviews of the earlier volumes see the *American Historical Review*, XXXII, 863; XXXVIII, 753.)

The detailed studies of agriculture, electricity, rubber, the internal combustion engine, special steels, building, coal mining, the chemical trades, textiles, artificial silk, joint-stock amalgamations, international agreements, trade unions, the railroads, the post office and the telephone, the wireless and the air, and many other topics which occupy chapters II to VI of this volume show how steadily Professor Clapham has been true to his purpose of presenting the individual as a balance to the general. The two final chapters, on the economic activities of the state and on life and labor in industrial Britain, provide a more general view of this activity in terms of politics, business, and society as a whole.

In all this occupation with measuring, weighing, reporting, and ascertaining the exact fact there is cold comfort for the economic determinist and little regard for the economic theorist. Clapham is not concerned with proving that economic developments determine history and apparently even less in testing "economic laws" in the light of economic actualities. To the mind of this reviewer Clapham writes "economic history" as history and endeavors to do neither more nor less than to show *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*.

In view of the greatness of Professor Clapham's achievement it may seem ungracious to register any critical comment. It is to be regretted that he persisted in his decision not to append a formal bibliography. Many

pages of the book make extremely difficult reading. To some it will seem that the facts he uses are often distillates from the *Economist* and committee *Reports* rather than the actual experience of the market place, the factory, or the board room. In certain chapters there seems to be too much complacency with things as they are, a confidence, implied in such terms as "no organic disease in the British economy", that in all the ups and downs of affairs things are very well with the British people.

Some students have expressed the view that in this storehouse of knowledge there is evident no pattern of development, no guiding thread to make the whole process intelligible. Perhaps, of course, this is because there is no pattern, no thread in the actuality of the modern world. Yet it may be that these critics have missed the implications of Professor Clapham's robust optimism. The pattern is the world as it is, a good world indeed.

The epilogue to this third volume surveys the years from 1914 into the 1930's. Covering less than fifty pages, it is necessarily less factual than the other sections of the book, but it is packed with some of the most provocative thought and some of the most illuminating observations of the whole three volumes.

University of Illinois.

FREDERICK C. DIETZ.

The Captains and the Kings depart: Journals and Letters of Reginald, Viscount Esher. Edited by OLIVER, Viscount ESHER. Two volumes, 1910-1915, and 1916-1930. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1938. Pp. viii, 307; ix, 315. \$7.50.)

THESE two volumes—which continue the *Journals and Letters of Reginald, Viscount Esher* (to 1910), published in 1934—furnish an indispensable, albeit fragmentary, contribution to the inner history of Great Britain during the prewar period and of the British part in the World War. What is set before us is particularly welcome, since Lord Esher's papers, relating to the years 1914-1919, have been deposited under seal in the British Museum till 1981.

The late Lord Esher (1852-1930) was a unique figure; well born, educated at Eton and Cambridge, intelligent, fine looking, he was on terms of intimacy with four sovereigns and with the leading political and military figures of the time. While his aim seems to have been to employ such talents and influence as he possessed for the good of his country, he sought in general to work behind the scenes and to avoid publicity. That may be the reason why Mr. Lloyd George in the sixth volume of his *Memoirs* calls him an "intriguer". An indication of the candor of the editor is the fact that he includes some prophesies of his father which were not realized, among them occasional predictions that the war might be lost and that Foch would never reach the highest command because he was a Jesuit.

During the course of his career Esher refused many important posts,

chief among them the offices of secretary of state for war and viceroy of India. One disputed point must be mentioned. It is usually asserted, among others by the editor, that Lord Esher declined the under-secretaryship of war in 1900. But Lord Middleton (formerly Mr. St. John Brodrick), in his recently published *Records and Reactions*, states that shortly after his appointment as secretary of war in 1900 he "had a most pressing letter from Esher, offering himself as Permanent Under-Secretary at the War Office" and assuring Brodrick "of his best support in inaugurating a new system". He further alleges that Esher never forgave him for refusing and procured his dismissal in 1903. It seems more in accordance with Esher's character to assume that his motive was not revenge but his desire to eliminate the office of commander in chief, which Brodrick wanted to retain.

Space will not permit of a summary of the revealing entries in the writer's journals, letters, and records of important conversations with personages of note. His characterizations are vivid and penetrating, his reflections those of a thoughtful, high-minded gentleman. While he may be a bit dazzled by the glamor of royalty, his views on current problems are shrewd and reasonable, the views of one fully alive to the trends of the time.

The University of Michigan.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Robert Laird Borden: His Memoirs. Edited and with a Preface by HENRY BORDEN. With an Introduction by Arthur Meighen. Two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xvii, 542; vii, 543-1061. \$12.50.)

ROBERT Laird Borden has secured for himself a place in Canadian history comparable with those of Sir John Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier. He will be remembered as the leader whose persistent courage in the hard work of leadership of the Conservative party led to the defeat in 1911 of the Laurier ministry on the issue of reciprocity; who was foiled in his effort to give naval aid to Britain by the shortsighted spirit of revenge exhibited by Laurier and his supporters in 1912-13; who secured for a time a united government to carry conscription when he became convinced that only thus could Canada play her fair part in the Great War; and who in the negotiations by which hostilities were terminated stood forward with complete success as the protagonist of the assertion of the equality in status of the Dominions and the United Kingdom. He will also be honorably associated with the effort to bring to a close the laxity in the handling of public funds and the defects of the civil service system; it is significant that in 1919 he failed to secure legislation (p. 977) which would have placed purchasing for the government on a satisfactory footing and prevented the recurrence of such scandals as those which marked the beginning of the war, until he himself took matters up and secured the establishment of a purchasing commission (pp. 492 f.).

Borden's memoirs are a solid achievement, a painstaking and essentially accurate and well-weighed record of important events. They show every effort to be fair to those in his own party with whom he had difficulties. If he is severe on the demerits of Sir S. Hughes, he had unquestionably the fullest grounds for such action, and the only surprising matter was that he tolerated so long his vagaries, insubordination, and lack of judgment. It was only later that he learned that Hughes's tactlessness was one of the serious causes of the failure of French Canada to play her part in recruiting; it will be remembered that the tragic failure of Britain in regard to Irish enlistment arose from a like cause, lack of vision and of any attempt to meet the susceptibilities of people whose racial outlook was not British. Though himself British, Borden is far from regarding either British permanent officials or ministers with excessive complaisance, and he justly stresses the amazing fact that the war cabinet committee which was set up in June, 1918, gained no inkling from the experts whom they examined that there was any chance of winning the war that year. His own attitude in war matters was to support General Currie in his efforts to keep the Canadian forces together, and in this he was successful. His criticism of the Passchendaele episode (p. 810) is interesting, but he does not seem to have borne in mind the grave reasons arising out of the condition of the French army which imposed on the British commander in chief the necessity of undertaking the operation. That it was too long protracted, after it had become clear that weather conditions must render further progress impossible, may be admitted. His eulogy of the care taken by the Canadian forces to strengthen their positions is just, but he is hardly quite fair in reproaching the British commander, who was the victim of the German attack in March, 1918; as Mr. Duff Cooper has shown, prime responsibility rested with the British cabinet, which required Sir D. Haig to take over more of the French line and refused to send him sufficient reinforcements to enable him to hold the extended line in full strength.

We learn that Borden favored the proposal of General Smuts (pp. 900-902) to convert the governor general into a personal representative of the king only, a project delayed until it won approval at the Imperial Conference of 1926. It is an interesting conjecture whether he would not himself have desired to hold the office; it is clear that if political conditions had permitted, he would gladly have accepted the offer of the ambassadorship at Washington; in either event he would certainly have escaped the devastating pressure of overwork and political worries which overcame even his strength and drove him to resignation. There is abundant evidence that the labors imposed on a prime minister in Canada are far too heavy and that much more delegation of authority is essential. On his difficulties with his opponents Borden writes with wise restraint, but it is impossible not to feel sympathy with him in many cases, and it will always be a matter for lasting regret that Sir Wilfrid Laurier allowed his deference to what

he believed was the voice of Quebec to prevent him from forming a coalition with Borden and from adding to the war effort of Canada the impetus of his personal magnetism, a quality denied his upright but somewhat too rigid rival. But it is to the great credit of the Dominion that it could produce two such worthy sons. One minor point may be noted, for it was symptomatic of what was to come in 1936. It took the repeated admonitions (p. 989) of Borden to induce the prince of Wales to refrain from gratifying his desire to play golf on Sunday, though he knew well that this must offend the religious feeling of many of his future subjects.

University of Edinburgh.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

Italy at the Paris Peace Conference. By RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ. [The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. xiv, 575. \$5.25.)

Italy's Foreign and Colonial Policy, 1914-1937. By MAXWELL H. H. MACARTNEY and PAUL CREMONA. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. vii, 353. \$3.00.)

AMONG the governments of the major European powers the Italian has been the least generous with scholars in regard to the publication of diplomatic documents. Time was, back in the days of the wicked liberal regime before the World War, when *libri verdi* of varying degrees of candor and completeness could be counted on to appear every so often. This was particularly true in the eighties and nineties. Since the war, however, this practice has been abandoned, much to the discomfort of writers on recent diplomatic history. It has been rumored for a number of years that the Fascist government was on the point of issuing its counterpart to the great collections of documents published by Germany, Russia, Austria, Great Britain, France, and the United States. But thus far nothing has been seen of any such compilation, and its eventual appearance now seems more than doubtful.

All of which makes the task of the historian of recent Italian foreign policy far from easy. For this reason Dr. Carrié is entitled not only to our particular thanks for essaying to write a scholarly work on Italy's role at the Peace Conference but to our praise for doing the job in such commendable fashion. He has made use of whatever material was available at the time he wrote. Since then several pertinent books have been published such as Aldrovandi Marescotti's *Guerra diplomatica* and *Nuovi ricordi e frammenti di diario*, Senator Crespi's *Alla difesa d'Italia in guerra e a Versailles*, and Lloyd George's *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*. These firsthand accounts will be found to amplify Dr. Carrié's narrative though not to alter his conclusions.

In reality his book covers more than its title would indicate, for it commences with an indispensable chapter on the Treaty of London and continues down through the Treaty of Rapallo in 1920. The author maintains

throughout a judicious temper, free from moral or partisan bias. His style, if not distinguished, is readable, clear, and concise. He has illustrated his narrative with numerous maps, and in the appendix (some too hundred pages in length) he gives the text of forty-nine documents, all in English. Altogether he has covered the field so adequately that it will hardly be worth anyone's while to do it again except in the unlikely event that future revelations alter his conclusions materially.

Macartney and Cremona's book was conceived along quite different lines and makes no pretense to exhaustive and definitive scholarship. Mr. Macartney was for many years the Rome correspondent of the *London Times*, while Dr. Cremona served in a like capacity for the *Christian Science Monitor* until last year, when he was suddenly ordered out of the country by the Fascist authorities for reasons that have never been satisfactorily explained. This volume is not, however, a typical example of the breezy exposés dashed off by foreign correspondents in answer to some publisher's prayer for a timely book full of astounding revelations and juicy gossip. The authors enjoy the obvious advantage of having witnessed a large part of what they describe, though their work is in no sense a series of recollections. It is a well-balanced, well-informed, and, on the whole, impartial narrative. It is not profound, it sometimes seems to be flat and indiscriminating, but by and large it is reliable. No other work covers the same ground in as satisfactory a manner: Professor Salvemini's admirable and occasionally impassioned *Mussolini Diplomat* covers a more restricted period, while Miss Currey's *Italian Foreign Policy* is naïvely pro-Fascist. The authors conclude that a clash between Italy and Great Britain in the Mediterranean seems inevitable. Recent events, however, have virtually dispelled the possibility of the Rome-Islam Axis, which they discuss in their closing paragraphs.

Council on Foreign Relations.

ROBERT GALE WOOLBERT.

The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement. By GEORGE ANTONIUS. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1939. Pp. xi, 471. \$3.00.)

THIS is a timely book which may have considerable influence on the course of historical developments in the Arab world. It is a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the rise of Arab nationalism and to that obscure historical episode, the Arab Revolt. It contains documentary and source materials which have never been published before. Furthermore the author, a Christian Arab of Palestine, sympathetic to the Arab nationalist movement, writes of this phenomenon from intimate acquaintance with Arab leaders whose written records he has checked against their verbal accounts. There is much information in his book which Western students cannot readily find elsewhere.

In the first part of his volume the author deals with the historical back-

ground of Arab nationalism. He gives the *mise en scène* clearly, briefly, interestingly, describing the Arabs and their world under Turkish domination with the resulting discontents and the increasing sense of cultural unity. He then proceeds to explain the immediate background of the revolt. His book contains more details about the Arab nationalistic and revolutionary clubs and societies than are to be found anywhere else except in an obscure publication printed by the Turks in 1916. This account clarifies much in the background of the revolt that was obscure.

Mr. Antonius writes of his people's struggle to attain national freedom and unity with a restraint and discernment which are highly commendable. Few nationalistic historians have written with as much objectivity. Nevertheless, he does tend to exaggerate certain matters and to gloss over others, for it is inevitable that he should see the historical developments during the war years through the eyes of the Arab nationalists from whom he gathered much of his valuable data.

He rather overemphasizes the effect of the British promises to Sharif Hussein upon the Arab soldiers in the Turkish armies and upon the civilian population of Palestine and Syria. I lived in Palestine and Syria, behind the Turkish lines, continuously from the spring of 1915 to that of 1917, and it is my belief that the attitude of the Arabs during the war years was largely due to the treatment meted out to them by the Turks together with the utter misery of the Arab masses resulting largely from the Allied blockade—misery for which the Turks were solely blamed. The author implies that the Turks “found themselves fighting in the midst of a decidedly hostile population” while the British were received “everywhere with demonstrations of welcome” principally because of the McMahon commitments to Hussein. It is my considered judgment that such was the case largely because of the intolerable conditions in Syria and Palestine between 1915 and 1918.

In dealing with the postwar settlement Mr. Antonius points out that “the Quai d’Orsay went so far as to believe that the proposal to hold an inquiry [the International Commission on Mandates in Turkey] on the spot was nothing less than a piece of Foreign Office intrigue calculated to eliminate the claims of France to a protectorate”; but he does not mention that the cause of this distrust on the part of the French lay in the things done by the British and Arabs in Syria during 1918 and 1919. An official dispatch sent by me on October 5, 1918, from Damascus, when I was American Military Observer with the British forces in Palestine and Syria, reveals some of the reasons for the lack of confidence of the French in their allies, the British and the Sherifian Arabs. The following is a paraphrasing of the pertinent parts of the dispatch:

There has been imposed on the inhabitants of the Syrian hinterland a Sherifian government with British aid and permission. Hussein has been

proclaimed king of Syria by Sherifian agents. A Sherifian government set up at Beirut seems to have been prearranged by the Mecca agents with or without British assent. A French political officer, Captain Coulondre, informs me that in his judgment it was not right to force a Sherifian government on Syria by a trick. He states that the imposition of a Sherifian government on the Christians of Mount Lebanon will not be tolerated by France.

The author makes no mention of the anti-French propaganda disseminated in Syria between October, 1918, and July, 1919. Nor does he speak of the fact that during the summer of 1919 the British turned over military equipment of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force to the Arabs. At the time observers thought this was an arming of the Arabs against the French. No doubt Mr. Antonius was not acquainted with some of these facts and consequently failed to understand the suspicions of the French in regard to the aims of the British and the Arabs.

Concerning the "King-Crane report" he does not mention and is probably ignorant of the existence of a minority report favorable to Zionism which was submitted to the American Peace Commissioners at Paris and accepted by them as a basis for their subsequent policy.

Even opponents must admire the generous and understanding way in which Mr. Antonius deals with the Arab-Zionist controversy at a time when passions on both sides are running full tide. Arabs and Zionists would do well to study critically and with an open mind this illuminating volume.

University of New Hampshire.

WILLIAM YALE.

The Scandinavian States and the League of Nations. By S. SHEPARD JONES, Director, World Peace Foundation, Boston. (Princeton: Princeton University Press; New York: American Scandinavian Foundation. 1939. Pp. xiii, 298. \$3.00.)

ANYONE conversant with the League's manifold activity in the twenties and early thirties knew that the Scandinavian aspect of the story was important enough to warrant a special treatise sometime, for what may be termed the small states' policy in the League was best crystallized in the outlook and activities of the Scandinavian group. Yet no one, perhaps, expected to see a treatise on the subject so soon. It is true that the limits of the present study are somewhat rigidly set. But within those limits Dr. Jones has made a conscientious study of his subject, and he presents a contribution both objective and substantial.

His chief concern is less with the activities of Scandinavians in the work of the League than with the attitudes taken by the governments and the delegations of the three Northern states toward the fundamental principles and the organization of the League. His exposition will serve especially the student of the political machinery of the League and of international organization generally. It is told, however, from the Scandinavian rather than from the Genevan end—hence it does not always stop to suggest how the

Scandinavian effort on any particular sector fitted into the total picture at Geneva. There is deliberate exclusion also, save only incidentally, of the material on Scandinavian participation in the technical and humanitarian activities of the League—unfortunately so perhaps, since these subjects are less adaptable for a separate book, minus the central core of the present one.

The author's documentation is very full throughout. He is thoroughly at home in the voluminous records of the League and has used extensively the parliamentary debates, the instructions to delegations, and other government publications generally of the three Northern kingdoms. He is conversant also with the secondary literature but inclined to cite it a bit indiscriminately in the first chapter or two—Beales, for example, is quoted several times, but never with any indication that the Scandinavian part of his story is sketchy and not always reliable. In a work to be used primarily for reference the index (compiled by another hand) is hardly adequate.

There is no attempt to carry the story beyond 1936, save incidentally. But as the League has since been relegated to a very inferior position, Dr. Jones's study has a certain final quality. There will be no need for another book in English on the Scandinavian conception of League principles and practice as we knew them before the Ethiopian War and sanctions.

New York University.

OSCAR J. FALNES

The Government of the Soviet Union. By SAMUEL N. HARPER. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1938. Pp. xviii, 204. \$1.25.)

IN this book Professor Harper essays the far-ranging task of depicting "the functioning of Bolshevism". The success he has achieved has been made possible by his peculiarly wide knowledge of the material and by his special technique. Apart from three introductory chapters, which are strongly high-lighted, he has not attempted to bring the subject into any particular focus. Rather, his own objective analysis is subtly blended with that which "is claimed". For the general reader the result may be somewhat blurred, an effect heightened by the use of familiar terms "with meanings often different from those associated with the same words when applied to western parliamentary systems".

Thus, terms such as "soviet democratism" and "democratic centralism" recur frequently but are nowhere brought into clear relation with the "ruling position" of the Party, enshrined in the new constitution itself. Nor does the discussion of "the strict discipline enforced by the Party over its members" convey the full flavor of "intra-party democracy" carried by *Pravda's* statement that "cowardly neutrality" of party leaders at party elections "attests failure to understand party democracy" and neglect of their "task", which is "to assist" the election "by secret ballot" of "the most worthy communists, those most devoted to the Central Committee" (*Pravda*, April 27, 1937).

Similarly, discussion of the labor unions ignores *Pravda's* sharp con-

trast between "schools of communism", whose function it is to increase output, and "counter-revolutionary" trade-unionism, which seeks to improve labor conditions. With more justice "socialized wage" does duty for prosaic words—parks and playgrounds, museums and public libraries, clinics, nursing service, and free education—because of the Soviet "principle that the leisure time should be organized". Thinnest is the treatment of finance, which neglects the relation of the Five Year Plans to the problem of capital accumulation and scants the fact that private capital receives its return from the profits of public enterprise.

Much of the actual "functioning of Bolshevism" may indeed be worked out by the careful reader from the material brought together in this book. Yet the employment of a vocabulary not to be found in our standard dictionaries and the general lack of focus, with its resultant double vision, are reflected in numerous contradictions which one might wish "liquidated". However, as "Stalin said in 1934 . . . 'Is it contradictory? Yes, it is contradictory. But this contradiction is a living thing and completely reflects Marxian dialectics'."

Brooklyn College.

JESSE D. CLARKSON.

My Austria. By KURT SCHUSCHNIGG. With an Introduction by Dorothy Thompson. Translated from the German by John Segrue. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1938. Pp. xxxviii, 308, vi. \$3.00.)

The Last Five Hours of Austria. By EUGENE LENNHOFF, Former Editor of the Vienna "Telegraph". With an Introduction by Paul Frischauer. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. 1938. Pp. xxi, 269. \$2.50.)

Die Wahrheit über Österreich. By GUIDO ZERNATTO. (New York: Alliance Book Corporation, Longmans, Green and Company. 1938. Pp. 331. \$3.25.)

Ein Staat stirbt: Österreich, 1934-38. By GEORG WIESER. (Paris: Éditions Nouvelles Internationales. 1938. Pp. 189.)

THE ever-growing literature on the passing of Austria is not, properly speaking, historical. Its authors have been too closely connected with the recent dramatic events to maintain a detached point of view. All of them try to show the justice of their own outlook and activity. This is quite natural when we observe that even writers remote from the Austrian scene have lost their objectivity under the shocks of Hitler's brutal aggression.

Of the first three books listed above Chancellor Schuschnigg's is the only serious historical document. It was originally published in Vienna in November, 1937, and it covers events until the early summer of that year. Schuschnigg tries to show the necessity of his and Dollfuss's dictatorships and their accomplishments. In doing this he does not positively distort facts but simply omits the other side of the story. As an ardent Austrian of the old type, as a firm Roman Catholic playing with the dream of the Habsburg

restoration, he does not perceive the real historical forces of the period and the fundamental fact that without the support of the Austrian working class, which in its organized form he and his colleagues intentionally destroyed, there was not the smallest possibility of successfully confronting the enormous military and economic forces of the Nazis. Yet for the reconstruction of the last period of the disintegrating Habsburg traditions the work of the chancellor is important to any student of recent history. It is also a significant document in showing the unbridgable chasm between the Marxist and the orthodox clerical ideologies.

Lennhoff's book contains picturesque and highly colored anecdotes of the last hours of Austria, showing indirectly how naïve and unprepared the regime was for its ultimate crisis. The introduction by Paul Frischauer is worthy of careful reading because it describes with unpremeditated humor the desperate and hopeless efforts during the last months to create a popular Austrian patriotism, which had been nonexistent since the disappearance of the Habsburg structure.

One gets the same impression from the volume by Mr. Zernatto, who used to be the general secretary of the *Vaterländische Front*, an organization lamentably inadequate to stop the unity and brutal attack of the Nazis. His description of a ball given by this organization on the eve of Berchtesgaden shows us the fashionable and *gemütlich* society of Vienna literally dancing its dance of death.

The fourth volume listed is of different character. Georg Wieser, former collaborator of Otto Bauer and now an exile in Paris, gives his own Marxist interpretation of the past four years. He is somewhat biased by his own viewpoint and sometimes uses uncritically the old and venerated dialectic formulas, but he has a sharp eye for the existing economic and social realities and demonstrates convincingly how the whole regime was built "in a vacuum"; how two thirds of the population consisted of confirmed pan-German Nazis and Social Democrats; how the illegal workers' movement continued after February, 1934; how nothing serious was done to reconcile the workers with the new regime; how the planned plebiscite of Schuschnigg would have been as farcical (though not so distorted) as the subsequent plebiscite of Hitler; how even the hours of disaster could not induce the regime to make a compromise with the workers in a common defensive front. Of course, Mr. Wieser has no realization of the fact that the rigid class-war doctrine of the Marxist Socialists was an important factor in the maturation of the Austrian tragedy.

Oberlin College.

OSCAR JÁSZI.

Mediterranean Cross-Currents. By MARGRET BOVERI. Translated from the German by Louisa Marie Sieveking. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. 451. \$5.00.)

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XLIV.—62

The Mediterranean in Politics. By ELIZABETH MONROE. (*Ibid.* Pp. ix, 259. \$2.50.)

A MORE strategic moment for surveys and analyses of Mediterranean problems than that selected by the authors of these two studies could rarely have been found. Even though political relationships in the Mediterranean area were already assuming new forms while the two volumes were still in the press, neither their timeliness nor their utility to students of international politics has been seriously diminished on that account.

As a guide to current problems Miss Boveri's work, much the longer of the two, is considerably the less important. In attempting to show that present problems are but historic outgrowths, she has devoted the greater part of her undertaking to a résumé of the entire past of Mediterranean lands. In this her conscientious study of historical literature is more apparent than her perception and grasp of all of the implications inherent in contemporary crosscurrents in the Mediterranean. Miss Boveri has permitted herself considerable indulgence in antiquarian items, anecdotes, and descriptive scenes, sometimes to the confusion of chronology; but she has done particularly well with geographical relationships and so has provided a good deal of perspective for recent developments. The numerous sketch maps throughout the book and the more general map of the Mediterranean basin at the end of the volume unfortunately are not nearly as illuminating as they would have been had they contained more detail and had the sketch maps been consistent in the use of points of the compass.

Rather in contrast with Miss Boveri's "cross-currents", Miss Monroe has addressed herself with laudable success to a discussion of the factors, tangible and intangible, in present-day Mediterranean politics. Even though new political alignments were already emerging as the book was finished, the author's analysis of fundamental national interests and international relationships will have practical applications as long as present methods of communication and transportation endure. Miss Monroe has a fine conception of the extent to which the Mediterranean is essential to each of the European powers, especially to Great Britain and Italy. She believes that the vital interests of these two powers have one thing in common—peace. On this ground she regards the Anglo-Italian Agreement as having been fully justified and considers the greatest hope for European peace to lie in the extent to which Great Britain and Italy may be able to accommodate their aims to other's needs. The prospect for peace, even before Munich, the new *Drang nach Osten*, and the recent Mediterranean manifestations of the Rome-Berlin Axis, she did not regard as particularly bright, principally because she is uncertain that the logic of Italy's position has been fully comprehended by the Italian dictatorship, for which she had no high opinion. Perhaps because it would have taken her beyond her specific theme, she has not mentioned the probability that Italy's uncertain "darting hither

and thither" may be due less to an improper estimate of the relationships of the various powers in the Mediterranean than to the greater difficulty of determining accurately Italy's position relative to the European situation as a whole. There are few points in the book, however, with which the reviewer would wish to take exception, whether the author is dealing with the North African littoral, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, the islands, or the European lands bordering on the Mediterranean. All are treated with admirable objectivity and detachment and with a thorough appreciation of the various kinds of factors which enter into the making of national policies in the third decade of the twentieth century.

The two books in many ways are complementary and, taken together in the order in which they are reviewed, provide as complete a textbook of European aims, interests, and strategy in the Mediterranean as ordinarily would be desired by a student of international politics. There are some shortcomings common to both: it is striking, for instance, that neither author seems clearly to have understood the treaty position of the Suez Canal—a point of considerable relevance, naturally, to any study of Mediterranean strategy. There is no doubt, however, as to the essential soundness of both volumes. This is attested in part by the extent to which the views of the two authors already prove to have been prophetic. Both works deserve prominent places on the library shelves of foreign offices.

Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

Parliamentary Government in England: A Commentary. By HAROLD J.

LASKI. (New York: Viking Press. 1938. Pp. 383. \$3.50.)

The British Constitution. By H. R. G. GREAVES. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. 296. \$2.50.)

THESE two books have much in common besides their subject matter and year of publication. They both come from the London School of Economics, in which Mr. Laski is a professor and Mr. Greaves a lecturer. They start from the same postulates and arrive at substantially the same conclusions. It is not unfair to Mr. Greaves to say that on every issue of any importance he stands squarely with his more distinguished colleague, to whom his book is dedicated.

The authors concur in the opinion that the British constitution has worked in the past not because of any inherent virtues of form or of any innate political genius of the British people but because those who have worked it have been agreed on fundamentals—"so fundamentally at one", to quote Lord Balfour, "that they can safely afford to bicker; and so sure of their own moderation that they are not dangerously disturbed by the never-ending din of political conflict". Our authors attribute this fundamental unity to the dominance of what, in their view, was essentially a single class in the community, the owners of the means of production. They

share the belief that this unity has been disrupted and that the constitution is not likely to work successfully in a social crisis such as would arise if a victorious Labor party should seriously set about carrying out a socialist program, for the proletarian-capitalist cleavage of today is radically different in character from the old interparty "bickerings" among members of the ruling property class, "family quarrels" Mr. Laski calls them. Whigs and Tories, Liberals and Conservatives, disputed as to how a social-economic system which both accepted without question should be worked. The Labor party and the Conservative party are contending over whether it should be worked at all. What Bagehot dreaded and pronounced fatal to parliamentary government has come to pass: the poor are arrayed against the rich. With unity of social purpose gone, the sense of security and the tolerance which it breeds have been undermined, and these were essential to the successful working of the constitution in the past.

Messrs. Laski and Greaves show more absorbing interest in the future of the constitution than did the earlier writers with whom they are likely to be compared—Walter Bagehot in his *English Constitution*, Sidney Low in *The Governance of England*, and Ramsay Muir in *How Britain is Governed*, for examples. Their gaze is never withdrawn for long from that supreme crisis to which, they think, the British constitution is moving. They represent a socialist approach to the constitution even more obviously than Bagehot represents a mid-Victorian Liberal or Muir a postwar Liberal approach. Distortion of the past resulting from present-mindedness is a theme not unknown to the student of historiography. A reading of these books suggests reflection upon what future-mindedness may do to the present. In justice to Mr. Laski, however, it should be said that he has avowedly limited his commentary to those aspects of the working of the constitution "which are most relevant to the pressing problems of our time". Looking forward to the coming crisis, our authors see an ominous portent in the Ulster crisis of 1913-14, in which means of thwarting the will of the sovereign parliament were considered, short of armed resistance though with the thought of ultimate armed resistance always in men's minds. Similar means may well be resorted to, so our authors think, by die-hard defenders of capitalism in the greater crisis ahead—especially the use of the royal prerogative for reactionary purposes and the encouragement of a seditious spirit in the army.

How binding are the conventions of the British constitution, those pertaining to the exercise of the royal prerogative, for example? Mr. Laski leaves us in no doubt of his opinion. Most of the conventions are "vague in form and imprecise in substance". To assume that men who "do not speak the same language", whose "feet are set on the path of war", will accept as binding and sacred "principles so delicate as those upon which the conventions of the British constitution rest is to go contrary to everything we know from historical experience".

In any approach to the British constitution the monarchy is an important subject, and to socialists, with their eyes riveted on Armageddon, it is peculiarly important. Both authors are convinced that the political neutrality of the sovereign in the past has been a result of the fundamental oneness of the old parties and that it could not be counted upon in a Labor-Conservative conflict. In normal times the royal prerogative raises no serious difficulty; it is exercised on the advice of ministers. But in times of crisis the personal attitude and wishes and biases of the monarch come into play. Mr. Laski adheres to the opinion, which he has expressed elsewhere, that Ramsay MacDonald as prime minister in the National Government of 1931 was the personal appointee of George V, the result of a "palace revolution". Dangerous reactionary doctrines, he believes, have been proclaimed—by Professor A. Berriedale Keith in *The King and the Imperial Crown*, for example—to the effect that the king is "the guardian of the constitution".

Considered merely as a constitutionalist Mr. Laski often defends the status quo against critics. He does not agree with most of the criticisms that have been made of the present cabinet system; he does not share the apprehensions of those who, like Ramsay Muir, enlarge upon the dangers of "cabinet dictatorship" and does not think that the present relations of the cabinet to the house of commons or to the executive departments are basically wrong. He takes issue with those who maintain that there has been a decline in the quality of members of parliament and believes that a parliament "with great principles to debate will still debate greatly", though he sees no other way, apparently, of reviving the former public interest in parliamentary debates than to challenge the social-economic foundations of the national life. He is a staunch supporter of the two-party system, rejecting Muir's criticism of it, which he characterizes as "able and persuasive" but "wholly erroneous", and he is strongly opposed to proportional representation. He does not favor devolution as a means of relieving the pressure on the house of commons. He rejects the principle of the popular referendum. He sees no evidence of a lust for power in the civil service such as alarmed Lord Hewart and other critics of "the new despotism". He regards the growth of delegated legislation as inevitable and is not disturbed by administrative justice.

On the other hand, he has no love, of course, for the house of lords. He predicts that the Labor party, sooner or later, will be compelled to remove this obstacle from its path and that this will provoke "passionate antagonism from the opponents of Labor". Mr. Laski's hostility to the spirit of the common law is not concealed. Its principles, so highly venerated, are in his eyes "no more than devices adopted to protect the owner of property from arbitrary interference by the state power". These words reveal the width of the gulf that separates Mr. Laski as a commentator on the British

constitution from some of his more famous predecessors—Montesquieu and Burke and Dicey, for example. They thought it the genius and the glory of the constitution that it stood for the protection of life, liberty, and property from “arbitrary interference by the state power”. Socialism is Mr. Laski’s religion, and he is passionately devoted to equality. Liberty leaves him cold. As for the liberties of historical liberalism, what are they but part and parcel of the outworn ideology of the bourgeoisie? (See his *Rise of European Liberalism*.) Both our authors pay high tribute (who does not?) to the independence and integrity of British judges, but both look upon the bench as an ally of capitalism and take it for granted that a socialist government would encounter a hostile judiciary.

It is a reviewer’s duty to call attention to errors and shortcomings. Mr. Greaves has sometimes been careless about his facts, but more serious than this are the consequences of bias in his treatment of historical events. To take the action of the house of lords in rejecting the Home Rule Bill of 1893 as an outstanding example of its obstruction of the popular will (p. 56) seems decidedly unfortunate. In the house of commons there was, to be sure, a narrow majority for the bill, but Home Rule was decisively rejected by the country in the next general election, in which it was the dominant issue. In discussing the attitude of the house of lords toward electoral reform (p. 60) Mr. Greaves does not mention its acceptance (whatever the motive) of the radical bill of 1867, which a majority of the existing electorate would probably have rejected, or its assent to the sweeping franchise extensions of 1918 and 1928. These are strange omissions.

Mr. Laski, unfortunately, does not respect the sanctity of inverted commas, with the result that his readers are never warranted in assuming that his quotations are accurate. The retentiveness of his memory has no doubt given him a false confidence in its inerrancy. He misquotes Bagehot’s classic formulation of the three rights of a constitutional sovereign (p. 353); he makes a glaring misquotation from the preamble of the Parliament Act (p. 93); and on what occasion can Burke have used the very un-Burkian language quoted on page 37? Occasionally Mr. Laski seems guilty of a lapse from realism. Having stated that “Parliament is the organ of registration for the Cabinet” (p. 140), he can yet talk solemnly about the bias of reactionary judges who “do not appear to consider that Parliament may have had good reason for the decisions it has chosen to make” (p. 310). The temptation to dogmatize is one that Mr. Laski has never successfully wrestled with. If he were not so sure always, he would be more convincing sometimes. Cromwell’s tremendous exhortation to the kirkmen of Scotland is dated by its language, but its message is timeless and universal: “I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken.”

Columbia University.

R. L. SCHUYLER.

AMERICAN HISTORY

Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936. By CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA. Volume I, *The Founding of Texas, 1519-1693*; Volume II, *The Winning of Texas, 1693-1731*; Volume III, *The Mission Era: The Missions at Work, 1731-1761*. [Prepared under the Auspices of the Knights of Columbus of Texas, Paul J. Foik, Editor.] (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Company. 1936-1938. Pp. 444; 390; 474. \$8.95 each.)

IN these volumes Dr. Castañeda has combined his skills as a librarian, bibliographer, and historian in an admirable manner. The need for a full-scale history of Texas, here supplied, has existed for some time in view of the great output of articles, documents, and monographs by scholars of reputation in the past thirty years. The bibliographies, citations, and footnotes reveal a patient sifting of this material and the use of a considerable body of new documents from the archives of Spain and Mexico. This is a work which, despite a somewhat misleading title, transcends the limits of purely ecclesiastical history and gives the reader an authentic synthesis of Texan history in all its varied aspects.

The volumes on exploration and early occupation down to 1731 contain accounts of ninety-two expeditions which visited the soil of Texas, most of which are ignored in the general accounts. The interest of Garay, Cortés, and Nuño de Guzmán in the lower Rio Grande region is fully depicted, and the exploring expeditions of Pineda and Camargo are described. The classic *entradas* of Cabeza de Vaca, Coronado, and De Soto-Moscoso are presented in detail. The specialist will note that Dr. Castañeda follows Bandelier's favorable view of Fray Marcos de Niza rather than the critical studies of Bancroft, Hodge, Sauer, and Wagner, and he may disagree with the author's complete acceptance of David Donoghue's thesis that the Coronado expedition found Quivira in Texas. The hardships, sufferings, and death of the majority of a shipwrecked group of Spaniards on the coast of Texas (1553-54), including among them five Dominicans, constitutes a remarkable and hitherto neglected episode which loses nothing in the telling. Chapters on the resumption of exploring activity in the Big Bend and Pecos country after 1580, on María de Agreda and the legend of the "Blue Lady of the Southwest", on the revival of missionary efforts after 1670, and on the beginnings of settlement with the founding of El Paso, after the retreat from New Mexico, bring the story to the dramatic appearance of La Salle and the French in Texas. The author sees this expedition as interrupting the normal expansion of the Spanish frontier and as in nowise a major cause of the mission establishment beyond the Rio Grande. The heroic failure of Father Massenet's attempt to occupy East Texas (1689-93) as a missionary field is related, with a wealth of new detail from the archival records, to end the first volume.

The second volume affords a systematic narrative of the Spanish occupation of Texas. The so-called "silent years" from 1693 to 1714 are given a fuller treatment than is available elsewhere. A sufficient sketch of the French activities in Louisiana and their interplay with the Texan developments gives the whole unity and clarity. While the missionary effort receives special attention, the advance of the military frontiers and the beginnings of civilian settlement are not neglected.

The final volume carries Texan history into the full stream of colonial life in the eighteenth century. Here the author has been able to use earlier studies, such as Professor H. E. Bolton's *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, to good effect. He has continued to add to what has been known, however, and presents new information at many points. The story of the missions near Presidio is a contribution, as is also the account of Spanish settlements on the left bank of the Rio Grande in 1753 and of the exploration of the coast to the Rio Grande from the mouth of the Guadalupe River.

The value of each volume is enhanced by a useful inset map and numerous illustrations. The indexes are well prepared and the proofreading carefully done. The bibliographies are extensive and arranged with an eye to use. They are not annotated, but the text and footnotes show their relative value by actual use. The work as a whole exhibits a high standard of craftsmanship and should be on the "must list" of all who profess an interest in this field.

The University of Michigan.

ARTHUR S. AITON.

The Colonial Period of American History. By CHARLES M. ANDREWS, Farnam Professor of American History, Emeritus, Yale University. Volume IV, *England's Commercial and Colonial Policy*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. xi, 477. \$4.00.)

THE theme of this volume is the development of England's commercial and colonial policies from Tudor and early Stuart beginnings to the eve of the American Revolution. The author's concern is with England's outlook on her colonies and only incidentally with the diverging interests and ideas of the Americans. To be sure, the problem of the American reaction to English policies is discussed (chiefly on pp. 132-42), and in the final chapter an attempt is made—which it is hoped will be pressed considerably further in later volumes—to assess centrifugal and centripetal tendencies among the colonists in the mid-eighteenth century. But a serious question arises whether these issues can be resolved solely by institutional studies, even when so broadly conceived as in this work.

The promise of the foreword, to make clear the "essential features" of English policy, has been generously fulfilled. Two chapters furnish a background, through the days of Dutch rivalry, for the history and analysis of the acts of trade and navigation, to which in turn four chapters are devoted. Three more develop the machinery for enforcement: customs

service, vice-admiralty courts (here viewed in the whole range of their activities and not merely where friction arose with Americans), the board of trade (admirably characterized as a body of men "with minds open to everything except fundamental ideas"). These are matters upon which, in one aspect or another, a great deal of scholarship has been accumulated by such students as Beer, Dickerson, Harper, and Professor Andrews himself. Here in three hundred pages we are provided with a new survey, freshly written from the sources. By avoiding repetition where his conclusions agree with others, the author has found room for substantive additions and for enlightening interpretation. Thus he passes over the relations of the board of trade with parliament and the administrative departments, to show more clearly than anyone has done its relations with the privy council and the secretary of state. In chapter iv, "The Enumerated Commodities", the applications and modifications of this most characteristically mercantilistic principle are traced through the sweeping regulations of 1766 and 1767. Then the principle was for the first time thoroughly applied—but for reasons which were financial as well as mercantilistic. On the vexed question as to whether logwood was in fact enumerated (pp. 91-93), it may be pointed out that in April, 1767, Benjamin Franklin made this grievance one item in a sharply satirical attack upon "British Ideas of what is Reasonable in American affairs", an essay which bears testimony to one American's growing opposition to several aspects of mercantilism. Incidentally, in the same place Franklin gave evidence upon another question, raised on pages 362-63: he roundly asserted "that a piece of French cloth, or silk, was *never worn*" among the Americans, that even French prize goods were unsalable.

The most distinguished interpretative passages are found in the two concluding chapters, in which the author turns from laws and machinery to the ideas which informed them. To explore the minds of the merchant-capitalists he has read widely in official sources and in the mercantilistic pamphlets and memorials, notably those of Dalby Thomas, Thomas Banister, William Wood, and James Abercromby. One misses in this gallery one of the most persistent memorialists of the first half of the eighteenth century, Thomas Coram, whose endless petitions reflect, along with mercantilism, those humanitarian views of the function of colonies which are here treated rather summarily in a footnote on page 102. The analysis of mercantilism in its significance for English colonial policy is a major contribution. Among the details of the analysis special value attaches to the weighing of the significance of the battle over the French trade and its outcome and to the exposition of the idea, implicit in later mercantilism, of a self-sufficing empire. But the notable feature is the demonstration that there was actually no such thing as an orthodox mercantilism, that except in a few fundamentals it was never an exact system, and that in policy and administration, even in a period when trade was the accepted basis of statecraft, the merchant-capitalists were never able completely to have their own way. Even before

1763 many a defeat was suffered at the hands of a parliament dominated by landowners, many a frustration at the hands of local-minded colonists.

Professor Andrews again asserts that after 1763, though mercantilism continued to furnish one basis for policy, it was increasingly subordinated to other considerations of finance and politics. He is aware that this view has been strongly challenged. He devotes a terminal footnote to rebuttal of the materialistic-interpretation school and, in the view of this reviewer, scores heavily against this particular variety of the tendency to oversimplify history. It is not so clear, however, that the complex motivation of the American Revolution can be understood without that "study of the social side of colonial life" which in one passage (p. 427, note) he appears to brush aside.

The University of Michigan.

VERNER W. CRANE.

History of American City Government: The Colonial Period. By ERNEST S. GRIFFITH, Dean of the Graduate School, The American University. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. 464. \$3.75.)

THE present volume is one of four projected. The treatment is essentially institutional and political, and such topics as incorporation, powers, internal constitutions, and finances are developed. Other chapters reflect the current interests of students of municipal government, notably that dealing with relations with the provincial government and others appraising municipal public opinion and the quality of city government. In his exposition of the operation of municipal government Dean Griffith demonstrates that by 1775 New York, alone of colonial cities, enjoyed "full-fledged representative municipal government". In addition to the four leading towns (Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston) the author treats of all the colonial municipal corporations, between twenty and forty-five according to the criteria chosen, and of many unincorporated towns as well. He buttresses his conclusions with citations from an admirable list of municipal archives which he has consulted.

In appraising a survey as ambitious and comprehensive as this, occasional bibliographical criticisms are almost inevitable. Thus the author in his summary of the rise of the English borough does not appear to be acquainted with the views of such recent writers as Stephenson and Weinbaum. Oppenheim published only one volume of the *Dutch Records of Kingston*, not two; the remaining material, about five sixths of the total, is still in the county clerk's office but was not utilized in this study. The reviewer was unable to find a "Town Record Book of New Bern, 1753-79" in the vault of the "Clerk of the City Court, New Bern". The earliest book in the vault of the city clerk begins in 1797. While included in Dean Griffith's detailed bibliography, such items as the minutes of the commissioners of Tarboro, now at Raleigh, are arid from the point of view of municipal administration; a far more fruitful source of administrative activity would be, for example,

the court records of Edgecombe county, of which Tarboro is the county seat, for in the South it is to the county court that one must look first for town regulation. Good use has been made in some cases of newspaper materials, but a study of the files of the *Georgia Gazette* would have added considerably to the fund of information relative to Savannah.

Some generalizations need reconsideration. It is not strictly correct to speak of the Virginia county court as a close body, recruited by co-option. In his treatment of municipal control of economic life the author underrates the importance of laissez-faire trends. Except for wages of quasi-public officials, it is not correct to say that regulation of wages "extended in its full scope down to the Revolution". Nor was the struggle against extortionate prices a constant one, but decidedly spasmodic, given a fillip by the crisis of revolution. Regulation of breadstuffs and liquors is quite a different story from price regulation as a whole. Regulation of quality survived longer than regulation of crafts.

In arriving at estimates of population in colonial towns—a perilous venture at best—the author calculates inhabitants at an average of six to the house in the North, which, according to Felt, is too low. The number of tithables is slightly less than doubled, whereas it should be multiplied by three at least (*William and Mary College Quar.*, XIV, 85). The population given for Savannah in 1741 is far out of line. An examination of population figures prompts the query as to why St. Augustine, one of the more important towns under British control on the eve of the Revolution, is completely ignored. Certainly its municipal history should prove at least as profitable to survey as that of Agamenticus or Gorgeana. To the list of communities which at one time or another enjoyed courts of constables and overseers should be added Newtown and Staten Island. The quick demise of courts leet and baron in America is not paralleled in England, where the process of decay was extremely slow. Witness the Sheriffs Act of 1887, which recognized the existence of the leet. The author regards the urban masses of colonial times as disorderly and lawless and, by implication, considers the law-enforcing machinery of the present day as immeasurably superior. But no colonial town could boast the current unenviable homicide rate of some of our larger cities, and, while London and Bristol were pretty far removed from the frontier, the criminality and squalor of those cities in the eighteenth century could not be duplicated in any colonial urban community.

City College, New York.

RICHARD B. MORRIS.

Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies. By JULIA CHERRY SPRUILL. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1938. Pp. viii, 426. \$5.00.)

Mrs. Spruill has written an interesting account of women's life in the South before the Revolution and one which represents an enormous amount of painstaking research in colonial records, newspapers, journals, letters, and

biographies. She has touched on practically every phase of feminine existence, from the size of families to the literature found in the lady's library and from customs of courtship to special punishments meted out to delinquent women. The chapters dealing with "Conjugal Felicity" and Domestic Discord" and those on women "Under the Law" and "Crimes and Punishments" are of particular value in throwing light on customs and practices of the period in fields which have not heretofore had adequate treatment. Each topic is treated chronologically and often with separate details for the different colonies. The author has done well in finding material on the women of the lower classes and those living on the frontier, always a difficult problem in this period. The bibliography is extensive and should prove of great value to others in the field of social history. Some additional information as to the contents of the various volumes of letters and journals listed would have been helpful if space had permitted its inclusion.

The book is excellent for reference purposes. For the general reader it would perhaps be more interesting if the chapters dealing with the occupations of women were less repetitious. In several instances the same information has been used in more than one connection.

The book raises several interesting questions for future research on the comparative position of Northern and Southern women. Was women's participation in affairs outside the home greater in the North than in the South, especially in the eighteenth century? Mrs. Spruill devotes one paragraph to the Revolutionary associations but does not give many details of their work. In the North they were of some importance, particularly those engaged in economic boycotts. The North also had occasional "praying circles" and other groups of women connected with the churches. Were there any such groups in the South, or did difficulties of communication and a different type of church organization prevent their formation? Were there any Southern women who wrote for publication? The North had probably less than half a dozen during the colonial and Revolutionary periods—the South apparently none except the women editors. Was this purely fortuitous or a matter of sectional differences? Such a study as Mrs. Spruill's will pave the way for more work in this field.

Besides throwing much light on the details of women's life the book shows the close relationship of English and American ideas, particularly in fashion and literature. In general, the view of woman's sphere was that held in England.

Lindenwood College.

MARY S. BENSON.

Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era. By ROBERT A. EAST. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. 387. \$4.25.)

THIS doctoral dissertation represents an ambitious and successful at-

tempt to describe and analyze the forces which produced a change in business organization and the technique of capital investment during and after the War for Independence. It likewise endeavors to sketch the careers of representative businessmen in all sections of the Union except the lower South and to evaluate the triumph of the politico-economic philosophy of "business freedom" which they preached and practiced.

In his introductory chapter entitled "The Late Colonial Business Scene" Mr. East states this thesis: "Group investment mechanisms were largely lacking, less by reason of restraints inherent in the unspecialized nature of commercial capitalism than because of the traditional reliance of colonials on British commercial credit, accompanied by serious imperial restrictions and by a general economic provincialism which an agrarian public opinion intensified." Chapters II-X are then devoted to an examination of the economic impact of the Revolutionary war. Motley throngs of successful privateer owners, army contractors, millers, prize agents, lawyers, and speculators in confiscated loyalist estates are shown elbowing their way into the spotlight of wealth and power. While special attention is given to such major entrepreneurs as Robert Morris and the less well-known Jeremiah Wadsworth of Hartford, hundreds of other capitalists are touched upon in brief but invariably illuminating fashion. Mr. East also summarizes the never-ceasing battles which were waged between radicals and conservatives in Congress and the state legislatures over the right of the merchant to seek his private ends under wartime conditions. In recapitulating "Some Economic Consequences of the War" the author maintains that "more wealthy colonials survived the war than recent writers suppose, the loyalist wealth-alienation theme having been overemphasized", although he is careful to note the advent in all commercial centers of wealthy newcomers whose youth, vigor, and national outlook helped to "set a faster pace for the future". In his last four chapters Mr. East undertakes a description of business developments during the decade 1781-92. The war was followed by several years of confused readjustment. Politically, the merchants and allied conservatives in other fields engineered a "Counter-Revolution" and reaped its benefits. With unprecedented vigor they combated agrarian demands for paper money; opposed further Torybaiting measures; sought to shift the burden of taxation to landowning farmers; asserted the rights of the public creditors; and stanchly supported the movement for a stronger federal government. Some significant details are supplied by the author respecting the individual capitalists who figured in the rise of stock speculation and the launching of banks and other business corporations from 1781 to 1792.

In the preparation of his work Mr. East has not only consulted great masses of printed primary sources and innumerable secondary accounts, but he has also enriched his narrative throughout with fresh material gleaned from an imposing array of bulky manuscript collections. This material both

supplements and complements that embodied in Charles A. Beard's epoch-making studies and in Joseph Stancliffe Davis's brilliant *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations*. Much spadework remains to be done, of course. We need detailed studies of Jeremiah Wadsworth, Joseph Barrell, Caleb Davis, and countless other businessmen. But Mr. East has given us both a useful compilation and a stimulating synthesis. His factual errors are few. His style, though somewhat prosaic, has the merits of clarity and restraint. His book is equipped with a comprehensive bibliography and an excellent index.

New York University.

JAMES O. WETTEREAU.

Roger Sherman, Signer and Statesman. By ROGER SHERMAN BOARDMAN. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1938. Pp. vii, 396. \$4.00.)

THIS long-awaited biography offers new and more adequate data upon which to base an estimate of a character so unusual as to defy ordinary methods of analysis. The individual who was successively "farm boy, shoemaker, surveyor, almanac-maker, merchant, lawyer, judge, and public servant" has been and probably always will remain something of an enigma.

Roger Sherman's epitaph may well commemorate the man who signed all three of the great documents of American statehood—the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States. That does not describe, however, or even imply the character and extent of the public services he rendered. The fact that his two colleagues from Connecticut in the Federal Convention, Ellsworth and Johnson, went into the Senate when the new government was formed under the Constitution, while Sherman, like Madison, accepted election to the House of Representatives, is indicative. A single sentence from his letter of acceptance epitomizes his creed: "I wish to employ my time in such service as may be most beneficial and acceptable to my country." The financial sacrifice involved may be gathered from the rest of the letter. Appendix "C" devotes nine pages to listing nearly two hundred committees of which he was a member during his long career in the several congresses between 1777 and 1793. The mere thought of the drudgery involved is appalling, and one shudders on reading the note at the end of the list: "The above include only the more important committees on which Sherman was placed."

The variety of his activities in community, state, and nation is the subject of this biography. Students will be grateful for the additional material that has been gathered and presented in accordance with scholarly standards so that every statement may be accepted at its face value. They will have to draw conclusions for themselves, however, as the author has carefully refrained from expressing his own opinions or from any attempt at evaluation. It is to be regretted that Dr. Boardman, with his evident sympathetic

understanding of Roger Sherman's qualities and achievement, has not given his own appraisal of his subject's career or attempted some sort of a summary or characterization. The reviewer would like to have had his estimate checked by the author's greater knowledge.

That estimate is based almost entirely upon the present study. It carries the picture of a tall, awkward, even ungainly figure, devoid of charm, with voice and demeanor that repelled the fastidious and evoked caustic comment from his more gentle mannered associates—a shrewd Yankee who preferred storekeeping to practicing law, probably because it was more lucrative, and then gave himself up to continuous public service almost to the point of impoverishment. A combination of piety with a desire for financial success is not uncommon, but it is rarely joined with a sense of public duty that rises almost to the height of grandeur. Experience in public affairs and adroitness in legislative councils led to accomplishments that might be followed by insinuations of deals and bargaining but, be it noted, without reflecting on his personal honesty. Able rather than brilliant, Roger Sherman was a devoted and faithful public servant.

Huntington Library.

MAX FARRAND.

An Autobiographical Sketch by John Marshall, written at the Request of Joseph Story and now printed for the First Time from the Original Manuscript preserved at the William L. Clements Library, together with a Letter from Chief Justice Marshall to Justice Story relating Thereto.

Edited by JOHN STOKES ADAMS. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1937. Pp. xxiii, 48. \$2.00.)

THIS document is far and away the most important writing by Chief Justice Marshall concerning himself. The manuscript is undated, but it is endorsed "written in 1827, J. S." The narrative covers the period from Marshall's birth to his appointment as Chief Justice. Until the death of the widow of Justice Story's grandson, Waldo Story, in 1932—as to the precise date and place, the editor is silent—the manuscript was unknown to the world at large. It was then "purchased by Professor Marco F. Liberma of Rome, from whom it was acquired by the William L. Clements Library".

As Mr. Adams further points out, the narrative was used by Story in the preparation of three successive accounts of Marshall, the final and most elaborate being the "Discourse" which he delivered before the Suffolk Bar on October 15, 1835, following Marshall's death, and which was later published in *Miscellaneous Writings of Joseph Story*, edited by his son William Wetmore Story (Boston, 1852). "In all these papers", Mr. Adams continues, "Story made extensive use of Marshall's manuscript which he followed with meticulous fidelity. More than half of it can be traced verbatim in parts of one or another of these articles. Indeed, in the third are several avowed quotations cited as extracts from 'a letter of a friend'."

The general effect of the Chief Justice's narrative is to show how

"faithful a chronicler" Story had been and "to confirm the authority of what he wrote". Beveridge's attempt to "correct" Story concerning two or three matters "closely touching the personal life of Marshall" Mr. Adams accordingly views rather skeptically. As he sensibly remarks, these were things "as to which it seems more reasonable to place reliance on his [Marshall's] memory than upon the conjecture of the historian".

Also, there is one matter to our knowledge of which the narrative adds materially, and that is Marshall's elevation to the Chief Justiceship. The passage (pp. 29-31), which, thanks to Dr. Randolph G. Adams's generosity, the reviewer was able to quote from in his article on Marshall in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, is delightful. Story himself must have struggled with the temptation to quote it too; but to have done so would have identified his informant too closely, and so he withheld his hand.

The volume before us is a beautiful specimen of the printing art. It is too bad, however, that the publishers thought it requisite to give it a format which will automatically consign it either to the attic or to the bottom shelf of most private libraries.

Princeton University.

EDWARD S. CORWIN.

The United States and Santo Domingo, 1798-1873: A Chapter in Caribbean Diplomacy. By CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL, Albert Shaw Lecturer in Diplomatic History, The Johns Hopkins University, 1931. [The Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, The Johns Hopkins University.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1938. Pp. viii, 487. \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR Tansill deals with the more important episodes in the relations of the United States with both the Dominican Republic and Haiti during the period which he covers. Based on extensive research in foreign archives as well as in American source material, his book is one of the most scholarly and interesting of the numerous studies of relations between the United States and individual Latin-American countries which have appeared in recent years.

In dealing with the period before the Civil War the author opens up several interesting and hitherto little-known chapters in our diplomatic history. He shows that the government of the United States, on at least two occasions, was not averse to co-operation with European powers in intervening in Caribbean affairs. In the time of Toussaint, President Adams joined with the British government in a successful effort to obtain trading privileges in Haiti and to stop the use of that country's ports as a base for pirate raids. Again in 1850 the United States intervened jointly with England and France to persuade the Emperor Faustin to give up his plan for the invasion of the Dominican Republic. None of the three powers wished to see any other government obtain control of the fine harbor of Samaná by acceding to the hard-pressed Dominicans' appeals for the establishment of a foreign protectorate.

The United States apparently first began to take an active interest in acquiring Samaná for itself in 1853, when General Cazneau was appointed special agent in the Dominican Republic. Thenceforth the story deals largely with the effort of this irrepressible adventurer and his associates to promote their own personal interests by involving the United States in Dominican affairs. Despite accumulating evidences of rascality, Cazneau had the ear of successive administrations from the time when the first effort to acquire Samaná was defeated by poor management and foreign intrigue in 1854 down to the failure of President Grant's annexation treaty.

In the latter part of the book, which deals with the period between 1866 and 1871, the author throws much new light on Seward's and Grant's Dominican projects, especially in their bearing on political affairs at Washington. He shows, for example, that the generally accepted account of Fish's attitude toward the Babcock mission is incorrect, that this mission was undertaken with Fish's knowledge and consent, and that the Secretary of State loyally supported, if he did not fully approve, Grant's policy. He also traces in detail the course of the personal relations between Grant, Fish, and Sumner. The book ends with the final defeat of Grant's project for the annexation of Santo Domingo.

Princeton University.

DANA G. MUNRO.

New York, an American City, 1783-1803: A Study of Urban Life. By SIDNEY I. POMERANTZ. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. 531. \$5.00.)

Brooklyn Village, 1816-1834. By RALPH FOSTER WELD. [New York State Historical Association Series.] (*Ibid.* Pp. xviii, 362. \$3.50.)

DR. POMERANTZ'S monograph is ostensibly an intensive study of life in New York City for the double decade from 1783 to 1803, but in reality it is a thoughtful investigation of the immediate effects of the War for Independence on that city. The author maintains that the period was "an era of unprecedented change" in government, in cultural progress, and in economic and social institutions. Evidently he believes that political changes predominated, for five out of nine chapters are devoted to them. He deals with economic development—trade, business enterprises, capital, and labor—in a single chapter. The social phase of the study, in two chapters, relates to health, poor relief, penal reform, customs, homes, taverns, clubs, and amusements. Cultural progress includes the religious life, professions, education, the press, the theater, music, literature, and art. Dr. Pomerantz has done an excellent task of notetaking, has organized his materials to show a logical development, and has written his interpretation in a pleasing style. He has brought to light much useful information that will be of assistance to students of the rise of American civilization. A summary of his findings

might well have concluded the volume. The bibliography is fresh and up to date.

A similar intensive study of a New York community is made by Mr. Weld for Brooklyn Village during the years 1816 to 1834 and deserves high commendation. Beginning with the Dutch farmers, the author explains the growth of a cosmopolitan community with new faiths and new institutions. An informing chapter is devoted to the village charter and another to political progress under it. Students of social history will read with profit the sections dealing with reform and the temperance movement. The treatment of the cultural evolution of Brooklyn includes the press, the lyceum, the library, and the schools, both aristocratic and democratic. In some ways the "Notes", covering more than sixty pages of fine print, are the most valuable part of the book, for there rather than in the bibliography one may find the sources from which the volume was created. Excellent use has been made of local, town, school, and church records; of contemporary accounts, directories, and newspapers; and of local histories. Particular attention should be called to the excellent "Conclusion". The author seems to feel that religious and cultural influences rather than business and politics determined the character of the civilization of the village for the eighteen years following its incorporation. Proximity to New York City thwarted Brooklyn's individuality and self expression in those early days and has brought absorption in recent times.

The University of the State of New York.

A. C. FLICK.

The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism. By RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON, Assistant Professor of History, Smith College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. viii, 514. \$5.00.)

THIS book deals with the ever-recurring problems of clashing cultures and creeds, complicated by serious conflicts of economic interests and racial antipathy. From a wide variety of sources the author has assembled a great mass of details to show that "hatred of Catholics and foreigners had been steadily growing in the United States for more than two centuries before it took political form with the Native American outburst of the 1840's and the Know-Nothingism of the 1850's". It is an unbroken story which takes its beginning in the anti-Catholic prejudice which had developed in England before the first English settlement and had been fostered by the events of the colonial period. With great pains and accuracy Mr. Billington has filmed the entire story.

For the materials used in the preparation of his book the author is partly indebted to the frank airing of religious controversies that affected public policy in the newspapers and periodicals published before the Civil War—

in contrast with the policy of similar publications published later and especially after 1900. This made it possible for a certain vocal element in the Protestant churches by the middle of the forties to present a united front against a certain vocal element in the Catholic churches; and by 1850 the anti-Catholic crusade had trickled down from the middle classes to the lower strata of society, which explains in part the successes of the Know-Nothing party in the elections of 1854 and 1855.

Worthy of special mention are the valuable and inclusive bibliography, the copious and meticulous citations of the sources, the excellent chapter on "The Literature of Anti-Catholicism", and a new interpretation of the Know-Nothing vote in the South and in the border states and its relation to the Whig and Constitutional Union parties.

Mr. Billington was happy in the choice of the title of his book, and he hews close to the line. It is not a history of nativism, although the chapter on "The War against the Immigrant, 1850-1854" shows that a great mass of material awaits the student who aspires to write the whole story of the efforts of the "guardians" of the "Spirit of Seventy-six" to preserve "America for Americans".

In the interest of the general reader and the student who lacks the necessary background it might have been well to emphasize the fact that while the nativistic gales howled and the less level-headed members of society had their day, America was the haven of thousands of immigrants—Catholics, Protestants, and Jews—who found a "promised land" where men were free to work out their own religious, social, economic, and political salvation, without interference from prelates clothed with power to prescribe what men must believe in order to obtain salvation. Although nativism was much ado about little, Mr. Billington's excellent book fills a "long felt need".

The University of Minnesota.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON.

Isaac Franklin, Slave Trader and Planter of the Old South, with Plantation Records. By WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON. (University: Louisiana State University Press. 1938. Pp. xi, 368. \$3.00.)

WITH the growing interest in the study of business history and business records there has come an interest in the Southern planter not as a romantic figure in a romantic past but as part of a business system. In the same way the slave trader demands new attention not as the repulsive or criminal figure pictured in fiction but, again, as a businessman in a business system. Isaac Franklin, the subject of Mr. Stephenson's volume, united the functions of trader and planter, thus making it possible to study two business pursuits and the transition from one to the other.

Not until after 1808 could the domestic slave trade achieve any degree of importance in this country. By 1819 Franklin, with his partner Armfield,

had become the leading long-distance trader. Any reader of the pages of Frederic Bancroft's *Slave Trading in the Old South* has already made the acquaintance of these partners, who had "a positive genius for speculating in slaves". That genius, it was said, brought them \$33,000 in 1829. Starting where Bancroft left the subject, Professor Stephenson follows their trade to Natchez and New Orleans, supplying many details concerning cargoes, prices, credit terms, insurance, taxes, and purchasers. In part Franklin and Armfield owned their own vessels and shipped cargoes of from seventy-five to one hundred once every two months, occasionally once a month. They also shipped Negroes in vessels owned by others and sent some coffles overland. At one time this firm alone was shipping from one thousand to twelve hundred Negroes annually to Southern markets. Their purchasers were merchants and householders who bought small numbers, and sugar growers who bought as many as twenty-five or thirty at a time for the expanding industry. As one of the interesting aspects of the New Orleans market, the author calls attention to the fact that many of the purchasers were free Negroes.

After 1826 certificates of moral character had to accompany all Negroes sold in Louisiana, and between 1831 and 1834 the introduction of Negroes into the state by traders was forbidden. In Mississippi the constitution of 1832 forbade the importation of Negroes. Though there is little reason to think that this prohibition was enforced, the way of the trader was growing more difficult, and by 1835 Franklin was expanding his planting interests and withdrawing from the trade. Into Louisiana plantations he put a large part of three-quarters of a million dollars, which he was reputed to have made in the slave trade.

Parts II and III contain conveyances, inventories, wills, price lists, and valuable financial records of the plantations, many of which give useful information on credit practices, the relation of the plantation owner to his commission merchants, and in general the cost of running a plantation. While the chapters dealing with Franklin's slave trade are illuminating, to the reviewer the documents dealing with his plantations, which make up two hundred or more pages, offer the greater value.

Wellesley College.

ELIZABETH DONNAN.

Der Pragmatismus: R. W. Emerson, W. James, J. Dewey. Von EDUARD BAUMGARTEN. [Die geistigen Grundlagen des amerikanischen Gemeinwesens.] (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann. 1938. Pp. xviii, 483. 9 M.)

A hundred years ago, when the Germans were as yet little acquainted with the United States, their philosophers regarded England as the "pragmatisch gesinnte Nation". Somewhat later America became in their eyes the pragmatic nation *par excellence*, with Emerson as an exceptional exponent

of idealism. Now Dr. Baumgarten groups Emerson himself with pragmatism, as he has done with Franklin in an earlier volume (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 893), and makes him another ancestor of James and Dewey. Much of this hooking-up is a perfectly legitimate and even stimulating enterprise in the history of thought and the interchange of thought, though one wonders whether many American readers of this book will be able to get American thought back again into their own idiom and out of the Heidegger German in which the author has expressed it, or how they could see what, if anything, is identical in that vaguely used term "experiment" which he applies to so much Anglo-American thought from Shakespeare to Dewey.

Dr. Baumgarten's enterprise is at bottom a confrontation of some of the present-day German problems, some of the author's personal ones clearly included, with American thought and institutions. It is curious to find how many Nazi problems America has had and still has: "race", "power", and "leadership" are made central problems in Emerson's thought, though not "property", which I think could be made just as central were not the discussion of property now taboo in Germany. With a citation of Emerson's "Let us lie low in the Lord's power", the American thinker, in whose social philosophy so much is indeed indeterminate or evoked by moods, becomes almost a consoler to the nonresisting Germans in their Third Reich. The American principle of rotation in office is clearly enough developed to make Germans realize that something might be said for democratic removable corruption as against irremovable corruption under a dictatorship, but such adaptiveness with regard to American experience requires caution, and Dr. Baumgarten feels it necessary to justify his respect for things American by adducing his personal war experience. He states that as a soldier in the World War he, in common with many other young Europeans, experienced a frontier situation of the most radical kind and that this shaped corresponding convictions. Some of them had been, within their own hearts at least, pragmatists (in a German way) long before they began to hear much about America and her philosophy "and feel today, in the German pioneering situation of 1933 and after, the more desire to take seriously as an instructive and well-tried *pendant* the Pragmatism of the American frontier" (p. 441). What this resemblance really amounts to, aside from metaphor and the author's personal equation, must remain wholly dark to those who consider the German situation, and especially that of German savants, as the utmost antithesis to pioneerdom, its complete passivism and *Ausweglosigkeit* forming an absolute contrast to American activity and opportunity. Nor is the incomparability of the two societies lessened by the author's conviction that truth is "a category of community" (p. 338).

Sherman, Connecticut.

ALFRED VAGTS.

Letters of James Gillespie Birney, 1831-1857. Edited by DWIGHT LOWELL DUMOND, Associate Professor of History, University of Michigan. [The American Historical Association.] Two volumes. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1938. Pp. xxxvi, 582; xiii, 583-1189. \$10.00.)

THE career of James G. Birney in the antislavery movement was more varied than that of any of its other leaders. As agent, editor, writer, and politician, he was in touch with all the leading personages in the movement, and the writers of the letters which are printed in these two volumes include such prominent figures as Theodore Dwight Weld, Lewis Tappan, Gerrit Smith, Gamaliel Bailey, Henry B. Stanton, and Joshua Leavitt, not to mention many other lesser figures.

The bulk of the correspondence has been drawn from the personal papers of Birney, which were formerly in the possession of his grandson, George Birney Jennison, and are now in the Library of the University of Michigan. Other sources which have been drawn upon include the Gerrit Smith manuscripts at Syracuse University, the Birney papers in the Library of Congress and the Boston Public Library, the Tappan papers, the Elizur Wright papers, and the papers of the American Colonization Society, the last three in the Library of Congress. In all, nearly five hundred letters and documents are printed of which more than one third are Birney's, the others being chiefly letters received by him from his numerous correspondents.

The correspondence as printed begins in 1832, when Birney, who had recently determined to remove with his family from Alabama to Illinois, in order that his sons might be free from the influence of slavery, was "staggered", as he says, by an invitation from the American Colonization Society to undertake work as its agent in the southwestern section of the country. By 1845 Birney had finished his public career, an injury and subsequent invalidism incapacitating him for the strenuous labors in which he had hitherto engaged. Letters between 1845 and 1850 are numerous but after that date much fewer in number. The last letter printed is from Birney to Gerrit Smith, written less than a month before his death in 1857.

Professor Dumond has performed the duties of editor in scholarly fashion and has contributed a brief but illuminating introduction. This is his second important contribution as editor of source materials for the antislavery movement, following as it does *The Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld, and Sarah Grimké* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLI, 162), in which he was associated with Professor Gilbert H. Barnes. These two collections of correspondence are already making possible some measure of reappraisal of the abolition and antislavery movements, as was clearly shown in papers presented at the recent Chicago meeting of the American Historical Association. Further revision in this important field of American history may be expected in the immediate future and will be facilitated

by the publication of other similar series of correspondence which have found their way into the great libraries of the United States.

The University of Western Ontario.

FRED LONDON.

Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860. Selected and arranged by WILLIAM R. MANNING. Volume IX, *Mexico, 1848 (Mid-Year)-1860, Documents 3772-4476.* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1937. Pp. xlv, 1251. \$5.00.)

THIS large volume contains important and interesting documents on a variety of topics: boundary surveys, depredations of frontier Indians, commercial relations, negotiations regarding territory and transit routes, and the growing peril of European intervention. The central themes which emerge, however, are the political disorders of Mexico and the expansionist tendencies in the United States. With the exception of the decade that followed the overthrow of Porfirio Díaz in 1911, the twelve years covered by this collection of diplomatic correspondence were the most unstable in Mexico's national history. Political chaos tended to invite the purchase of territory and transportation routes as well as intervention in the domestic affairs of Mexico. Yet the United States did not engage in armed intervention, and the only acquisition from Mexico was the territory included in the Gadsden treaty. One has here a long and complex story of failure—failure which was perhaps best for both countries.

This diplomatic futility was caused in part by the very instability which provoked an aggressive policy. It was also due in part to the influence of European agents. But in the main it was caused by the growing friction between North and South in the United States and by the character of a number of the diplomatic representatives of the Washington government. The reader of this bulky collection cannot fail to be impressed by the crudeness of the majority of the North American diplomats in comparison with those of Mexico. The dispatches of the agents of the United States are filled with tactless utterances and bad grammar and flavored with an incongruous mixture of greed, romanticism, and democratic fervor.

The editor has performed his task in a superb manner. The selection of documents from a vast repository of manuscripts displays fine judgment, the proofreading is almost perfect, the index thorough, and the explanatory notes invaluable. Only one who has scrutinized the whole bulk of correspondence from which this collection was made and encountered the handwriting and orthography of such agents as James Gadsden, for instance, can fully appreciate the magnitude of labor required. This volume and the one preceding it constitute a major contribution to the study of Mexican-American relations.

The University of Chicago.

J. FRED RIPPY.

Democracy in the Making: The Jackson-Tyler Era. By HUGH RUSSELL FRASER. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1938. Pp. 334. \$3.50.)

THE title which Mr. Fraser has given his book is hardly appropriate. With respect to the expansion of the suffrage, the labor movement, and the development of the national political party convention as an institution—all important phenomena in the making of democracy—the volume contributes little. Neither the name nor the deeds of Thomas W. Dorr appear. What is really presented is a review of the struggle of President Jackson with the Bank of the United States, of the warfare between President Tyler and the Whig leaders over matters of finance in 1841-42, and of the intervening economic history of the Van Buren administration.

The papers of Nicholas Biddle have constituted for the author his chief hunting ground, and the result of his research is a more severe indictment of Mr. Biddle than one finds elsewhere. The impressiveness of this, however, is, unhappily, in large part nullified by Mr. Fraser's neglect of some essential secondary works and of other important bodies of manuscript material. He cites, for example, Lyon G. Tyler's *Letters and Times of the Tylers* as a two-volume work, remaining unaware, apparently, of the third, highly documented volume which appeared in 1896. He has used R. C. McGrane's *Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle* but not the same author's *Foreign Bondholders and American State Debts* (1935), wherein he might have discovered the existence, in Ottawa, of the Baring Papers, which throw a flood of light upon the very period and topic of which he undertakes to write.

In contrast with the good paper, printing, illustrations, and binding of the volume, Mr. Fraser's proofreading is often very poor, particularly in the footnotes, with respect to the spelling of the names of authors. In the text the name of John Sergeant, the Philadelphia lawyer and Whig leader, is consistently misspelled.

The carelessness which is thus revealed appears also in the presentation of the subject matter. Important topics are omitted and others overstressed. Neither of the two acts of Congress so essential to Mr. Fraser's narrative—the "Deposit" Act of June 23, 1836, and the Land Law of September 4, 1841—is described in an adequate manner; and as to the former, one wonders whether Mr. Fraser really grasps the distinction between this and Henry Clay's bills for the distribution of the proceeds of the sale of the public lands.

Despite an excess of superlatives, exclamation points, and question marks, Mr. Fraser's writing holds the reader's interest. The book, however, is more important in the hope which it engenders for his work in the future than as a successful accomplishment in itself. Coming at times dangerously near to the border of fiction, it lacks the severe discipline of scholarship.

The Library of Congress.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

A History of American Magazines. By FRANK LUTHER MOTT, Director of the School of Journalism, State University of Iowa. Volume II, 1850-1865; Volume III, 1865-1885. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1938. Pp. xvi, 608; xiii, 649. \$5.00 each.)

THESE two volumes carry forward to the year 1885 the history of American magazines which a first volume, published in 1930, admirably set forth for the period 1741-1850 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXV, 888). Throughout this detailed and comprehensive record Mr. Mott has been successful in so ordering the materials out of which the history is constructed as to render the account both useful and enjoyable to readers. The first half of each volume deals with the general development of American magazines for the period under discussion and includes, among other things, a consideration of the business side of publication, the geographical distribution of periodicals, and the growth of journals devoted to special interests. The second half is made up of separate sketches of the most important magazines founded during the period, except when a long-lived publication founded in one period reaches its chief importance later. In this case the sketch is included in the volume containing the history of the later period. A list of all magazines mentioned, chronologically arranged according to the year in which they were begun, tells at a glance what new projects were engaging the attention of publishers annually. This arrangement for each volume, plus an excellent index, makes the wealth of information included in the history easily accessible. The three volumes now published constitute a reference work indispensable to every library.

The *History of American Magazines* is much more, however, than a collection of valuable information and a standard reference work in its field. It is a spirited and vigorous account of human nature and popular movements as they are reflected in publications that are of necessity close to daily life. In the preface to Volume II Mr. Mott declares his belief that old magazines, even more effectively than newspapers, reveal the life of the times in which they were printed. His purpose, therefore, is not only to tell the story of the founding and passing of a wide variety of journals but to "analyze the content of the magazines of the period considered according to ideas, literary types, and typographical and pictorial presentation".

This purpose Mr. Mott carries out with so much energy and gusto that the result is lively entertainment as well as instruction. A general reader may profitably turn the pages of the volumes and enjoy the comments on farm papers, technical and industrial journals, periodicals devoted to literature, art, music, or the theater, and others dealing with the "woman question", food reform, and popular sports. He may examine the story of the *North American Review*, of *Putnam's*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Scribner's*, the *Century*, and the accounts of their editors; or he may follow the humbler

fortunes of *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*, the *National Police Gazette*, and the magazines published by Beadle of dime-novel fame. Throughout the entire history Mr. Mott happily combines exact information with picturesque detail.

Wellesley College.

BERTHA-MONICA STEARNS.

The Birth of the Oil Industry. By PAUL H. GIDDENS, Professor of History and Political Science, Allegheny College. Introduction by Ida M. Tarbell. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xxxix, 216. \$3.00.)

BRIEFLY, this is the story of the first ten years of the oil industry—a short decade in which petroleum emerged from a patent medicine skimmed from the streams of northwestern Pennsylvania to become the chief lubricant and illuminant of the United States and Western Europe. It is the only recent attempt which has been made to gather together and synthesize both the contemporary material and that more recently collected. The research, which gives every evidence of adequacy and competence, is based largely upon the Bell collection and other materials gathered over a period of more than half a century and now housed in the Museum of the Drake Well Memorial Park near Titusville.

There are spots in this book which are touched by an antiquarian flavor, but as a whole Professor Giddens has packed into two hundred pages much material of historical value. In ten years an industry developed from practically nothing to one with an investment of \$200,000,000, with an export value second only to cotton, and with a future which made the gold of California sink into relative insignificance. In a few square miles of northwestern Pennsylvania there was enacted during the Civil War years a drama of epic proportions, one as yet virtually missed by writers of fiction and directors of moving pictures.

Ida M. Tarbell, in a thirty-nine page introduction (chiefly a résumé of the story Professor Giddens has told at greater length) stresses the point that "the way all these varied activities fell into line, promptly and automatically organizing themselves, is one of the most illuminating exhibits the history of our industry affords, of how things came about under a self-directed, democratic, individualistic system: the degree to which men who act on 'the instant need of things' naturally supplement one another—pull together." The first ten years of the oil industry is indeed a remarkable exhibition of the capacity of rugged individualism operating under a laissez-faire system to cope with new and unexpected problems. But it is also a story of incredible inefficiency and suffering and of waste of material and human resources. Possibly one could sum it up by saying that it showed the human race and the economic system at their best and at their worst.

In a brief final chapter the author summarizes the advances made by the oil industry during the decade 1859-69. His most interesting points have

to do with the influence of the new industry upon the economic background of the Civil War, particularly the aspect of foreign trade, a field hitherto largely neglected by historians. The book is illustrated with five maps and thirty-two contemporary illustrations.

Smith College.

HAROLD U. FAULKNER.

The Old Northwest as the Keystone of the Arch of American Federal Union: A Study in Commerce and Politics. By A. L. KOHLMEIER, Professor of History, Indiana University. (Bloomington: Principia Press. 1938. Pp. v, 257. \$2.50.)

The Big Four: The Story of Huntington, Stanford, Hopkins, and Crocker, and of the Building of the Central Pacific. By OSCAR LEWIS. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1938. Pp. xi, 418, vi. \$4.50.)

PROFESSOR Kohlmeier's book is concerned with the trade relations of the Old Northwest with the Southeast, the Southwest, and the Northeast, and the part they played in the politics of the ante-bellum period. The author painstakingly analyzes the traffic flowing to and from the Northwest by way of the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Great Lakes and traces the construction of canals and railroads and their effect upon the old trade routes. He finds that the completion of the railroads from the East to the Northwest between 1850 and 1860 did not reverse the trade routes as some writers infer. The railroads built up traffic for themselves by developing areas previously backward, especially the northern parts of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, but the Mississippi continued to be a great artery of commerce. The secession of the Southern states threatened the free navigation of the river and caused great anxiety in the upper Mississippi valley. "No part of the country", observes Professor Kohlmeier (p. 244), "was more desperately in need of the preservation of the Union than was the Old Northwest". Both Lincoln and the Confederate leaders realized the dependence of the Northwest upon the Mississippi, and neither wished to take the first steps to close it. Despite the allurements offered by the South, the Northwest was won to the Union.

Professor Kohlmeier has used a wide variety of material, including reports of railroads and boards of trade, commercial reviews, newspapers, state and federal documents. He has produced a worthwhile study of the relationship of commerce and politics in the sectional alignments down to 1861. Unfortunately the style is monotonous and involved. Equally regrettable is the lack of maps and a bibliography.

Oscar Lewis's *The Big Four* is a work of different quality. It is written with a light touch, it frequently deals with the trivial, but it is entertaining as well as instructive. A thin treatment of the building of the Central Pacific Railroad is followed by critical sketches of the Big Four—Collis P. Huntington, Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker, and Mark Hopkins—and

two lesser figures, Theodore Judah and David Colton. The author has used California newspapers, federal documents, and certain unpublished reminiscences and has painted a series of highly illuminating pictures. Huntington is shown as the ablest of the Big Four, but he does not appear as a constructive railroad promoter. "While railroads were good for Huntington, Huntington was not good for railroads", the author acidly observes (p. 220).

Mr. Lewis gives less attention to the means by which the associates accumulated their wealth than to the way they spent it. The construction of ornate palaces, the purchase of paintings and bric-a-brac in Europe, the lavish expenditures of their wives, the establishment of Stanford University and the Huntington Library are all described in a colorful fashion. The description of cross-country travel in the seventies is well done, and the monopoly of transportation which the Central and Southern Pacific Railroads enjoyed in California is interestingly described. The bibliography is brief, there are no footnotes or maps, but the numerous illustrations are well chosen.

Cornell University.

PAUL WALLACE GATES.

Letters of Henry Adams, 1892-1918. Edited by WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1938. Pp. x, 672. \$4.50.)

THIS second volume of letters covers the period from 1892 to Adams's death in 1918. (For a review of the first volume see Volume XXXVI, page 616, of this journal.) They are of course interesting, as anything Adams wrote was certain to be; but they add little, nothing of real importance, to our knowledge of the man. The least interesting are those dealing with the particular events of politics and finance: every sharp advance or decline in stocks gives Adams the jitters—indicates that the world is played out, the end imminent. Continual exaggeration of the importance of matters forgotten by everyone in a week becomes a bit tiresome, especially if, as is quite possible, it was no more than a pose or a bad habit.

There are, however, many extremely interesting passages about people and books. Apropos of the famous statue in Rock Creek Cemetery: Everyone was asking St. Gaudens what he "meant in that figure", and he of course couldn't say what anything meant. La Farge felt that it was meant "to express whatever was in the mind of the spectator" (p. 407). Adams himself implored Roosevelt to exhibit a little insight in regard to the statue: "will you try to do St. Gaudens the justice to remark that his expression was a little higher than sex can give . . . he meant to exclude sex, to sink it in the idea of humanity. The figure is sexless" (p. 513). Apropos of Henry James's *Life of Story*: "So you have written not Story's life, but your own and mine. . . . *Type bourgeois-bostonien!* . . . Improvised Europeans, we were, and—Lord God!—how thin. . . . You strip us, gently and kindly, like a surgeon, and I feel your knife in my ribs" (p. 414). Apropos of Roose-

vult: "Theodore has stopped talking about cowboys and San Juan. . . . That he is still a bore as big as a buffalo I do not deny, but at least he is a different sort" (p. 428). Apropos of Kant: "His categorical imperative is the Dean of Königsberg" (p. 452).

Occasionally, especially in letters to his brother, Brooks Adams, he appears to drop the customary mask of frivolity. "The suggestion that these great corporate organisms, which now (1910) perform all the vital functions of our social life, should behave themselves decently, gives away our contention that they have no right to exist. . . . None of you dare touch the essential facts; and, since 1893, I dare not touch it myself. The whole fabric of our society will go to wrack if we lay hands of reform on our rotten institutions. All you can do is to vapor like Theodore about honesty!—Damn your honesty! And law!—Damn your law! And decency!—Damn your decency! From top to bottom the whole system is a fraud. . . . The only question is whether it will break down suddenly, or subside slowly, after long lapse of time, into motionless decay" (p. 548).

Cornell University.

CARL BECKER.

America and the Strife of Europe. By J. FRED RIPPY, Professor of American History, The University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1938. Pp. xiii, 263. \$2.00.)

IN agreement with other scholars, Professor Rippy believes that the success of American foreign policy, from independence to our newer conceptions of neutrality, has been made possible in large measure by the "strife of Europe"—that is, by the bitter struggle of the nations of the Old World to preserve a precarious balance of power. The paralyzing disunion of Europe has been a formidable first line of defense for the United States, which American statecraft has exploited to the full. But Americans have not been disinterested spectators of the European scene; almost every war or threat of war has enlisted our sympathies and has sometimes challenged what we consider our vital interests. When both our sympathies and our interests have been involved simultaneously, or seemed to be so involved, we have had difficulty in remaining aloof from European strife. It appeared to Professor Rippy, writing early in 1938, that a second world war was brewing and that the United States, because of a concatenation of sentimental and material concerns, might become involved. Like many other Americans anxious for our future, he appeared to be uncertain as to what should be done about it. But he seemed confident that our first line of defense (the strife of Europe) remained, should we seek to take refuge behind it. And he was also confident that "respectful but not servile consideration for national experience and traditions" might help American statesmanship to maintain in proper perspective the true national interests, material and psychological (pp. x-xi).

There is a striking difference in the organization of the last third of the volume as compared with the preceding sections. Chapters ix to xi are a rather detailed analysis of the policies of Roosevelt, Bryan, and Wilson, whereas the foregoing material is more general. Both portions of the book, however, aim at a critical analysis of the dynamics of American foreign policy during the last century and a half. It is in this respect that Professor Rippy makes whatever contribution is new in either content or interpretation. It is no disparagement to say that there would have been some shifts of emphasis if the author had been writing after instead of before the Munich settlement. It seems to the reviewer also that he has underestimated or unduly subordinated the influence of geography and of changing techniques of warfare and transportation as factors in American policy both past and present. Everything considered, however, Professor Rippy has demonstrated that first-rate historical writing can render more than mere academic service. The text is undocumented, but there is a well-chosen, manageable bibliography, four maps, and an adequate index. It can safely be predicted that this little volume will be a welcome addition to the required reading of both teachers and students of American history.

The Institute for Advanced Study.

EDWARD MEAD EARLE.

NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GENERAL HISTORY

Aspects of History. By E. E. KELLETT. (London, Jonathan Cape, 1938, pp. 160, 5s.)
History, Freedom & Religion. By F. M. POWICKE. [Riddell Memorial Lectures, University of Durham.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. 62, 85 cents.) Having compiled selections from the writings of a large number of historians, Mr. Kellett was moved to examine the various conceptions of history which historians have held. The result is a sketchy survey of history writing, from Pentaur to Hilaire Belloc, as theology, as literature, as propaganda, as science, as both art and science, as politics, as ethics, and as economics, the conclusion being that there has never been agreement among historians as to the nature and purpose of their enterprise. Mr. Kellett, though he makes some dubious assumptions, has written a readable and probably harmless little book that has been taken seriously in certain quarters in England, but he was handicapped by what appears to have been a total ignorance of recent literature on historiography. Professor Powicke's lecture on History is entitled to a place in that literature, for it calls us to reflection on the implications of the fact, unquestionably true but seldom meditated upon, that history (considered as events) is mostly unrecorded. Common interpretations of history "tend to isolate that remnant of past experience which is on record and to concentrate upon it. Everything that has fallen out by the way, which has disappeared from our view, is regarded as irrelevant. . . . How much has dropped out, and yet is as truly a part of history as anything that we know. How careful should we be, in our efforts to understand what we think we can know, never to forget that there is this vast tract of the unknown and the unknowable." Mr. Kellett reminds us that Buckle's hope remains unfulfilled: history has not learned to predict the future. Does the great unrecorded make the hope unfulfillable?

R. L. SCHUYLER.

Tradition and Progress and Other Historical Essays in Culture, Religion, and Politics. By ROSS HOFFMAN. [Science and Culture Series.] (Milwaukee, Bruce Publishing Company, 1938, pp. xvii, 165, \$2.00.) This book is a series of essays not entirely homogeneous in nature, but taken as a whole they constitute an able Catholic interpretation of the history of mankind and of the value of historical study. Professor Hoffman attacks vigorously the pragmatic view of history presented by James Harvey Robinson and certain of his disciples. He contends that we should not study history for the purpose of understanding how the present has come about. Rather, our reading of history should entice us into a romantic appreciation of the past, especially a comprehension of the unique nature and value of the civilization of the Middle Ages. Next to his enthusiasm for the Middle Ages, Professor Hoffman is most deeply stirred by what he calls "The Return of the Church from Exile". By this he means the marked revival in our generation of vigorous intellectual propaganda for the role of Catholicism in the contemporary world. Reviewers will be most kind to Professor Hoffman if they do not check up too closely on his statements. For example, he devotes a lengthy criticism to the alleged ignoring of contemporary Catholic thought in the reviewer's *History of Western Civilization*. He then goes on specifically to state

that "one looks in vain for Dawson, or Maritain, or Belloc, or Chesterton, or for any distinguished Catholic thinker who has applied his mind to the problems of our age". Perhaps we should not ask a man to read a book before he criticizes it, but at least we might expect him to consult the index. Had Professor Hoffman done so in this case, he would have discovered that I refer to all the men he mentions, as well as to many other Catholic thinkers, and have, perhaps, cited Dawson more frequently than any other single author in my treatment of medieval culture.

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

Annales de l'Institut Kondakov (Seminarium Kondakovianum). Volume X, *Mélanges A. A. Vasiliev*. (Prague, Institut Kondakov, 1938, pp. 201, \$6.00.) The fifteen studies published in this volume have been brought together to honor a distinguished Byzantinist. They are, on the whole, of a type to attract the attention of specialists; yet the high scholarly reputations of the authors make it desirable to call the volume to the attention of all medievalists. Six of the essays are in Russian, including one on Vasiliev himself by G. V. Vernadsky. This and D. Anastasjievic's "Actes d'Esphigménon du tsar Dušan" are given in Russian alone, while a résumé in French or German opens to a wider circle of scholars the conclusions of S. Stanojevic's "Jacob, métropolit de Ser", V. A. Mošin's "Sur la question du servage à Byzance", D. A. Rassovsky's "Les Comans. III. Le territoire des Comans", and N. E. Andreev's "Ivan IV. der Gestränge und die Ikonenmalerei des XVI. Jahrhunderts". F. Dölger in "Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos als dynastischer Legitimist" explains how the fourteenth century usurper sought to establish family ties with the Palaeologi in order to strengthen his claims to imperial dignity. F. Dvorník, "L'affaire de Photios dans la littérature latine du moyen âge", shows that the weight given to the Photian affair by modern historians is in striking contrast to the neglect or disinterest manifested by writers from the ninth to the twelfth century. The other essays are: "L'empereur Maurice s'appuyait-il sur les Verts ou sur les Bleus?" by Henri Grégoire; "À propos de l'éloge de l'empereur Jean III Batatzès par son fils Théodore II Lascaris" by M. A. Andreeva; "Autokrator Johannes II. und Basileus Alexios" by Georg Ostrogorsky; "Un inventaire de documents byzantins de Chilandar" by A. V. Solovjev; "Berliner Quellen zu den Lebensumständen des Metropolitens Arsenios von Tiberiapolis und des Bischofs Seraphim von Tzerbenos" by N. A. Bees; "The Foundation of Dura-Europos on the Euphrates" by M. I. Rostovtzeff; and "Protobulgares et Slaves" by I. Dujčev. There is a splendid portrait of Vasiliev and a list of his writings.

GRAY C. BOYCE.

La méthode historique de M. Nicolas Iorga (à propos d'un compte rendu). By ALEXANDRE DOMANOVSKY. (Budapest, Imprimerie de l'Université Royale Hongroise, n. d., pp. 323.) Since so much European history is nothing but ideological presentation of this or that nationalistic cause, we must not be too severe with the present work. In 1923 the author published a short history of Hungary in German. Thirteen years later Professor Iorga reviewed the work, characterizing it as an "ouvrage de passion", full of "erreurs voulues". This has induced Professor Domanovszky to refute Iorga's criticism in detail and, in addition, to criticize Iorga's history of Hungary, published in the fourth volume of Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1919, pp. 455-87). The result is a fully documented work which demonstrates how irreconcilable may be the views propounded on the same subject by scholars of two different nationalities. The book may have some interest for readers who like to have their opinions for or against Hungary's ideology of history confirmed or refuted without much sustained demand upon their historical empiricism.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK.

The Legal Position of War: Changes in its Practice and Theory from Plato to Vattel. By WILLIAM BALLIS. (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1937, pp. xi, 188, 4 gld.) A welcome contribution to the rapidly growing literature on the history and nature of war is this presented by Dr. Ballis. It gains in clarity from the fact that it has concentrated upon essentials. The emphasis upon the contribution of Cicero as over against the medieval scholastics is fully justified in a history of the definition of just and unjust war, but the continued influence of the scholastics has perhaps justified the prominence given to them in most treatises. A suggestive summary in the concluding chapter, which brings the story down to the present day, leaves the reader with a real sense of regret that the detailed survey ends with the eighteenth century. JAMES T. SHOTWELL.

Creation of Rights of Sovereignty through Symbolic Acts, 1400-1800. By ARTHUR S. KELLER, OLIVER J. LISSITZYN, FREDERICK J. MANN. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. vii, 182, \$2.50.) This volume is a study of the practices employed by European governments in the period from 1400 to 1800 to acquire title to *terra nullius*—land that was neither a sovereign unity nor under the control of a Christian prince. The term *terra nullius* included only territories of which the rulers were not regarded as possessing sovereignty because of their relatively low state of civilization. In such regions, for example in America, Australia, the East Indies, and Africa, valid title to land could be obtained only through symbolic acts, without the formal cession of territory by the natives. These acts, in addition to a declaration proclaiming dominion over the area concerned, consisted in the erection of some physical sign of possession—a cross or a pillar—bearing a suitable inscription. Although they varied in detail, these acts were the same in their effect inasmuch as the title thus established was regarded as good against all subsequent claims by other nations. It would seem that no government regarded the mere physical discovery without the performance of a symbolic act as sufficient to establish title. Numerous illustrations, skillfully handled, indicate how this principle of international law was established and likewise how its application enabled European nations in a systematic manner to extend their influence beyond the seas. The material for these illustrations was selected from the journals and letters of explorers, the records of chartered companies, and secondary historical writings. In their effort to follow a definite pattern and chronological sequence, so as to avoid too much variation in style and presentation, the authors have succeeded admirably. CARL J. KULSRUD.

Theory and Practice in International Relations. By SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937, pp. 105, \$1.50.) A series of five lectures given under the auspices of the William J. Cooper Foundation, Swarthmore College.

A History of Jewish Literature from the Close of the Bible to our Own Days. By MEYER WAXMAN. Volume I, *From the Close of the Canon to the End of the Twelfth Century*. Second edition, revised and enlarged. (New York, Bloch Publishing Company, 1938, pp. xvi, 562, \$3.50.)

Europe in the Seventeenth Century. By DAVID OGG. Third edition. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xi, 575, \$3.75.) The author states that the changes in this third edition are extensive and that the bibliography has been brought up to date.

The Quakers: Their Story and Message. By A. NEAVE BRAYSHAW. Third edition. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. 365, \$2.75.) This popular handbook on the history of the Quakers is probably the best short account that we have. Its weak-

ness is its inadequate treatment of Quaker history and biography in America and its neglect of Quaker history outside of the British Isles, except for recent occurrences since the World War. Its principal value lies in its explanation of the beliefs and "testimonies", or social reforms, which have distinguished the Quakers since the beginning of their history, and the reason for the origin and survival of these beliefs and testimonies. One chief strength of the book is the continual quotation from authoritative writers and official utterances of Quaker meetings.

WILLIAM I. HULL.

Dr. Bodo Otto and the Medical Background of the American Revolution. By JAMES E. GIBSON. (Springfield, Illinois, Charles C. Thomas, 1937, pp. ix, 345, \$4.00.)

Milestones in Medicine [Laity Lectures of the New York Academy of Medicine for 1936-37]. Introduction by James Alexander Miller. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1938, pp. vii, 276, \$2.00.)

Landmarks in Medicine [Laity Lectures of the New York Academy of Medicine for 1937-38]. Introduction by James Alexander Miller. (*Ibid.*, 1939, pp. vii, 347, \$2.00.)

Publicaciones de la Catedra de Historia de la Medicina. Edited by Dr. JUAN RAMON BELTRAN. Volume I, *Conferencias y Trabajos.* (Buenos Aires, Imprenta de la Universidad, 1938, pp. 294.)

Medicine in Modern Society. By DAVID RIESMAN. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1938, pp. 226, \$2.50.)

The Conquest of Cholera, America's Greatest Scourge. By J. S. CHAMBERS. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xiv, 366, \$4.75.)

The Unicameral Legislature. By ALVIN W. JOHNSON. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1938, pp. ix, 198, \$2.00.) The debate on the question of whether a legislature should consist of one or two houses, though long continued and at times bitter, remains on the whole inconclusive. This volume by Professor Johnson, which covers the ground from Siéyès to Norris, is devoted mainly to a consideration of the arguments for and against the traditional bicameral form of legislatures and to a very moderate advocacy of the unicameral system. The early chapters present a brief account of the evolution of bicameralism abroad and in the United States. The book also contains an account of the growth of the movement for unicameralism in the United States since the Ohio proposal in 1912 and a valuable table on the constitutional amendments for unicameral legislatures proposed in 1937. Nebraska's recent experience with a single chambered legislature is given special treatment. The author is a discriminating advocate of unicameralism. He knows that forms of government are not all-important, that matters of personnel and problems concerning elections and representation, legislative procedure, legislative congestion, the relationship between legislatures and governors, and many others remain, whether the legislature has one or two houses. His conclusion, which certainly seems warranted, is that the unicameral legislature, because it is simpler in structure, probably makes legislative reform somewhat easier and therefore more probable. Hence, on the whole, he thinks it desirable. Experience as well as theory seems to the reviewer to justify the same conclusion. The book is well organized, interestingly written, and contains much useful material. It deserves serious attention now that the prolonged debate is being resumed throughout the country.

ELMER D. GRAPER.

Romanticism and the Gothic Revival. By AGNES ADDISON. (New York, Richard R. Smith, 1938, pp. viii, 187, \$2.50.) The subject of this work is the rise and decline of the Romantic movement in Europe and America and its effect on contemporary literature and architecture.

Le problème des nationalités. By PAUL HENRY. (Paris, Colin, 1937, pp. 214, 13 fr.)

Der Nationalgedanke von Rousseau bis Ranke. By OTTO VOSSLER. (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1937, pp. 187, 5.50 M.)

History of the Armenian Question to 1885. By A. O. SARKISSIAN. (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1938, pp. 151, \$2.00.) Mr. Sarkissian has studied the Armenian Question as "an offshoot of European diplomacy" and as "an important phase of the history of a people scattered far and wide in all parts of Asia Minor and surrounding countries". In the pursuit of his first objective he succumbed to the temptation to plunge into the murky waters of the imbroglio of 1875-78, and the reader wades through several swamps which contribute little more than distraction. The second objective provides the real contribution of the study. In dealing with the Armenian people the author directs his attention almost exclusively to those under the heavy yoke of the Turk. The major features of this tragic story are not new, but Mr. Sarkissian has merited gratitude for exploiting a considerable body of Armenian material, notably the records of the National Assembly. His last chapter gives a valuable survey of the cultural advance of the Armenians up to 1885. By any standard of morality the Armenian people were wronged, and no one can remonstrate when that fact is emphasized by one to whom those wrongs are not an academic subject. At the same time, the heavy judgment against the English might be contested. How much legal and moral obligation to protect the peoples of Asia Minor Lord Salisbury incurred could perhaps be debated. But after all is said, the new chapter in the old story of attempting to reform Turkey was largely incidental to the great game of national interest, and the rules of that game, unfortunately for the Armenians, dictated the conduct of Lord Salisbury no less than that of all other ministers under the paramount obligation of caring for national welfare in international relations. It is probably less useful to censure Lord Salisbury than to bring into question the rules of the game.

DAVID HARRIS.

Chronologie de la Guerre mondiale, de Serajevo à Versailles, 28 juin, 1914-28 juin, 1919. By F. DEBYSER. (Paris, Payot, 1938, pp. 263, 40 fr.) This chronology possesses the merits of completeness and accuracy in ample measure. Scarcely a day during the five years is without significant entries, tersely and impartially expressed. These notations indicate the military and naval actions of the war, diplomatic events, and relevant internal affairs of the important nations throughout the world. There are eight statistical tables of moderate worth, together with a large, really serviceable index. Primarily intended for French readers and as a reference guide for the other volumes in its series, the chronology is nevertheless independently useful and sometimes interesting reading.

ROGERS P. CHURCHILL.

Foreign Affairs, 1919-1937. By E. L. HASLUCK. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xvii, 347, \$2.50.) The author of this survey organizes the material according to five geographical zones: Central Europe, Western Europe, Eastern and Northern Europe, Asia and Africa, and the Americas. The result is a disconnected chronology of the various states situated in five continents, selected items of internal histories rather than topical problems in foreign

affairs. Of peculiar (and amusing) interest to American readers are the twenty-seven pages devoted to the United States, representing a harvest of details in British Americana, including prohibition; lynching and the Ku Klux Klan; crime and lawlessness (Huey Long, the "millionaire gangster"); pursuit of the "Almighty Dollar"; New Deal expenditures in pounds sterling; and the "sinister power of graft [which] hangs over American life as the Devil was believed to hover perpetually over the life of the medieval Christian". The value of this work for college courses is limited. Interpretation is confined to the introduction ("The Versailles Settlement") and the final chapter, which telescopes the principles, activities, and failures of the League of Nations, the World Court, and the International Labor Organization into eighteen pages. The last line of the book poses a conditioned prophecy: "Should a new Covenant bring in these Great Powers [the United States, Germany, Italy, and Japan] to the world confederation, the prospects of the League of Nations as a promoter of peace and prosperity should be far greater than they have hitherto been." The mind leaps instinctively to *1066 and All That*.

BRUCE HOPPER.

The Whispering Gallery of Europe. By Major-General A. C. TEMPERLEY. With a Foreword by the Right Honourable Anthony Eden. (New York, Wm. Collins, 1938, pp. 359, \$3.50.) This account, written by a British military adviser at Geneva, covers the period 1920-35.

Franco-British Rivalry in the Post-War Near East: The Decline of French Influence. By HENRY H. CUMMING. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. 229, \$3.00.) This doctoral dissertation, written at the University of Geneva, stresses "the background, nature, and general effects" of Franco-British rivalry in the Near East and purposes "to point out the progressive decline of French influence in the Levant under pressure of British attempts to dominate the region of the eastern Mediterranean". The first half of the volume is devoted to a historical portrayal of the rivalry and co-operation of the French and British in the Near East during the World War. The author outlines the Near Eastern interests of both countries, discusses the secret treaties of 1915-17 which partitioned the Ottoman Empire, describes the negotiations with the Arabs, characterizes the Zionist movement, and brings this part of his work to a close with the Mudros Armistice and the Paris Peace Conference. The latter half of the volume treats of the Near East after the war and carries the history of Anglo-French rivalry to the close of the Lausanne Conference in July, 1923. While the author has achieved the fundamental purposes set for the volume, two criticisms seem in order. The earlier part of his work might have been reduced somewhat, since some of its subject matter had been covered before. Secondly, a final chapter bringing the analysis of Franco-British rivalry in the Near East substantially down to date would have been advisable. The rivalry did not end at Lausanne. As it is, however, Mr. Cumming has written a very useful brief volume which will be of value to students who desire to unravel the threads of international politics in a region which once more promises to be a center of intense rivalry and conflict among the European Great Powers. The author's bibliography adds value to his volume.

HARRY N. HOWARD.

People at Bay: The Jewish Problem in East-Central Europe. By OSCAR I. JANOWSKY. With a Preface by Morris R. Cohen. [Submitted as a Report to the Conference on Jewish Relations.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. 193, \$1.75.) The problems of the Jews in East-Central Europe have assumed a world-

wide importance during the last few years, especially because of the growing political and cultural influence of Nazi Germany throughout that region. The author of the present book has visited the countries, has studied the historical background and the current statistical material, and presents in this short and compact book a survey of the present situation which will help to throw some light on what is now going on in Central and East-Central Europe.

HANS KOHN.

Guide to Periodicals and Bibliographies dealing with Geography, Archaeology, and History. Compiled by E. JEFFRIES DAVIS and E. G. R. TAYLOR. (London, Published for the Historical Association by G. Bell and Sons, 1938, pp. 22, 15.)

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ANCIENT HISTORY¹

T. R. S. Broughton

The Conquest of Civilization. By JAMES HENRY BREASTED. Edited by Edith Williams Ware. New edition, fully revised and reset. (New York, Harper, 1938, pp. xii, 669, \$4.00.) Before his death, Dr. Breasted had made considerable progress in preparing the manuscript of this volume, which represents his last labor and maturest conclusions.

Les peuples de l'Orient Méditerranéen. Volume I, *Le Proche-Orient asiatique.* By LOUIS DELAPORTE. Volume II, *L'Égypte.* By ÉTIENNE DRIOTON and JACQUES VANDIER. ["Clio."] (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1938, pp. xxxv, 361; xlv, 640, 50 fr.; 75 fr.) These manuals, intended primarily as textbooks for university students, summarize clearly the history of Western Asia and of Egypt from prehistoric times to Alexander the Great. They do not make important contributions to historical research but present succinctly the results of the latest archaeological discoveries and technical investigations. Their chief value for American historians lies in the full, though not exhaustive, bibliographical notes, listing most of the important publications of the last ten years. Thus these volumes will be of great assistance in bringing up to date the great work of Eduard Meyer and the *Cambridge Ancient History*. ROBERT H. PFEIFFER.

Never to die: The Egyptians in their Own Words. Selected and arranged with Commentary by JOSEPHINE MAYER and TOM PRIDEAUX. (New York, Viking, 1938, pp. 224, \$3.50.) The style of this modest book is pleasing, and the texts and illustrations constitute a small but fairly representative selection from the literary and pictorial remains of ancient Egypt. The compilers, though wholly innocent of Egyptology, have succeeded in discovering some of the best translations of Egyptian texts and some of the most accurate copies of Egyptian pictures. But along with these they have also used translations which represent the scholarship of earlier generations and copies of pictures going back even as far as Champollion. The volume as a whole does not give a correct impression of the present state of knowledge. WILLIAM F. EDGERTON.

Geschichte der deutschen Stämme bis zum Ausgang der Völkerwanderung. By LUDWIG SCHMIDT. *Die Westgermanen*, Part I. Second, fully revised edition. (Munich, C. H. Beck, 1938, pp. 227, 7.50 M.) This new edition of Schmidt's well-known work differs little from the earlier edition, although the author has tried to bring it up to date. In his various books about German tribes of classical and postclassical times, Schmidt shows himself familiar with the Latin and Greek historical records. Unfortunately, however, these records are anything but full and must be supplemented at every turn with evidence drawn from archaeological and linguistic treatises. Here the author is emphatically not at home, and his work suffers accordingly. Philology, too, seems to be outside Schmidt's field; certainly his interpretation of texts, classical and vernacular alike, leaves much to be desired. His book swarms with hoary errors, errors made (forgivably enough) by pioneers like Zeuss, Grimm, and Müllenhoff, but out of place in a publication of 1938. The author refers in his *nachträge* to my edition of *Widsith* (published in January, 1936), but he evidently made no

¹ Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

careful study of it; such a study would have saved him from several blunders. On the whole, Schmidt's book cannot be recommended. KEMP MALONE.

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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

G. C. Boyce

- A History of Europe from the Invasions to the XVI Century.* By HENRI PIRENNE. Translated by Bernard Miall from the French of the 8th edition. (New York, Norton, 1939, pp. 624, \$5.00.) The French edition of this volume was reviewed in this journal, Volume XLIII (April, 1938), pages 587-88.
The Middle Ages. By EDWARD MASLIN HULME. Revised edition. (New York, Henry Holt, 1938, pp. xvii, 1118, \$4.50.) Thirteen additional chapters include the history of England, which was not given in the first edition.

The Medieval World. By LOREN CAREY MACKINNEY. [The Civilization of the Western World.] (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1938, pp. xiii, 801, \$3.75.)

Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation. Compiled by G. G. COULTON. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xx, 566, \$4.50.) The fourth printing of a source book which appeared first in 1918.

Medieval Trade Routes. By J. N. L. BAKER. (London, published for the Historical Association by G. Bell and Sons, 1938, pp. 19, 2s. 1d.)

The Foundations of Scotland. By AGNES MURE MACKENZIE. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xv, 316, \$3.75.)

Der Handschuh im Recht, Amterwesen, Brauch, und Volksglauben. By BERENT SCHWINEKÖPER. With an Introduction, "Die Erforschung der Mittelalterlichen Symbole, Wege, und Methoden", by PERCY ERNST SCHRAMM. [Neue deutsche Forschungen.] (Berlin, Junker und Dünhaupt, 1938, pp. xxi, 161, 8 M.) The methodological theories of Professor Schramm concerning the history of symbols are tested in a practical, successful way by Dr. Schwineköper in his investigation of the glove, its use and significance.

Dagobert, roi des Francs. By R. BARROUX. [Bibliothèque historique.] (Paris, Payot, 1938, pp. 218, 30 fr.) The first four chapters of this book are a general essay on the Merovingian kingdoms in the seventh century. The best of them is chapter II, which deals with life in the towns and villages in the seventh century. The first chapter is a physical description of the four kingdoms of Austrasia, Neustria, Burgundy, and Aquitania. Chapter III is a fragmentary discussion of Merovingian society, which is a sad echo of Dalton or Marignan. Chapter IV, on the arts, is confined to architecture and the decorative arts. Probably the most stimulating part of the first portion of the book is the introduction, which places Dagobert among his contemporary sovereigns and gives a stimulating comparative glance at the seventh century. The latter half of the book, which deals with Dagobert's reign, is the better half. Kept more closely in check by the source material utilized, it does not suffer from the weakness which occasionally mars the first part. The section on Saint-Denis is an excellent summary and evaluation of modern critical literature. The chapter on Dagobert in history and legend goes far to discover the actual man under the layers of myth surrounding him. The chapters on external and internal politics are careful studies which are never extreme or fanciful in interpretation. For example, M. Barroux takes the sensible view (p. 157) that Dagobert did not, by receiving a mission from the Emperor Heraclius, thereby acknowledge himself a subject of the latter but that the embassy was simply the natural consequence of amicable relations existing between the two monarchs. He follows Lot in rescuing Dagobert's reputation from the blot of having instigated the massacre of the Bulgarians by the Bavarians a year or so after his death (p. 145).

HELEN ROBBINS BITTERMANN.

The Pseudo-Turpin. Edited from *Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds Latin, MS. 17656*, with an Annotated Synopsis, by H. M. SMYSER. (Cambridge, Mediaeval Academy of America, 1937, pp. 125, \$2.75.) Dr. Smyser's edition of the shorter Turpin Chronicle offers to scholars of the manuscript tradition an exceptionally accurate and well-presented text, accompanied by variant readings from five other manuscripts, carefully classified and related to each other. For the "antiquarian", as he calls him, there is in addition an abundantly, if at times curiously, annotated synopsis of the matter of the chronicle. It is unfortunate that the editor decided to add important footnotes to his synopsis rather than to his Latin text, for his

abridgment of an already quite brief chronicle is misleading and makes the notes sometimes meaningless. For example, he often has to supply in the footnote itself the detail which it is intended to explain. The modern French practice of a complete translation accompanying the Latin text would have served more adequately both his classes of readers. Dr. Smyser supports the late Joseph Bédier's view that the chronicle is merely a part of the Book of Saint James. He does not, however, bring forward any new arguments in answer to the objections made to this theory. His introduction does not give the reader an orderly account of the real problems involved, nor does it explain the reasons which led Dr. Smyser to take up his present position. As a transcription of the Latin text Dr. Smyser's book is a model of scholarly accuracy, but as an edition of the Turpin Chronicle it contains such varied material of such varying importance that both the manuscript student and the antiquarian are likely to regret its lack of proportion and completeness.

C. MEREDITH-JONES.

Englische Geschichtschreiber des 12. Jahrhunderts. By Dr. HEINZ RICHTER. [Neue deutsche Forschungen.] (Berlin, Junker und Dünhaupt, 1938, pp. 180, 8 M.) Dr. Richter's book is an example of the current German approach to medieval chroniclers and historiography, which seeks to re-create the world as it appeared to different types of writers. He focuses his attention upon three monks: Eadmer of Canterbury, William of Malmesbury, and Ordericus of St. Evroul. Probably he does not allow sufficient latitude to the intrinsic individual differences in the personalities of these three unusual monks and thus tends to ascribe too much to "national" and "racial" influences. Their personalities, however, attract him less than their world outlook. His relative neglect of their life within their monasteries with its services, books, friendships, and other interests, rather leaves them at their windows looking out. What they see is a world torn by the investiture struggle between church and state, factional struggles within the church, feudal struggles within the state, and racial struggles between the suppressed but powerful Anglo-Saxons and the conquering Normans. An important contribution is the author's emphasis upon the influence of Bede both in setting up a high standard of historical accuracy and in limiting the range of their historical vision. Throughout the study a careful and methodical effort is apparent.

J. C. RUSSELL.

Per l'edizione dei notai Liguri del sec. XII. By MATTIA MORESCO and GIAN PIERO BOGNETTI. (Genoa, R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Liguria, 1938, pp. viii, 142, 20 l.) This book will be useful to all workers in the notarial archives in Genoa. It includes a record of all published documents from that collection as well as a description of the methods now being followed in the editing of entire registers of the early notaries. It is also of interest to American scholars owing to the official acceptance of the method of identification of certain notaries and the correct dating of their acts contributed by Professor Robert L. Reynolds of the University of Wisconsin.

EUGENE H. BYRNE.

Le comté d'Anjou sous Henri Plantagenêt et ses fils, 1151-1204. By JACQUES BOUSSARD. [Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études.] (Paris, Champion, 1938, pp. xvi, 253.) The history of this county is especially interesting to students of medieval institutions. It was a typical feudal state, not a brilliant exception such as Normandy or Flanders, and the extremely slow development of its organs of government shows how hard it was to rebuild political organization in Europe once it had collapsed. M. Boussard has done us a real service in completing the story of the county, which was begun so many years ago by his master, Louis

Halphen. The book begins with a careful study of the extent of the county and the holdings of its feudal lords—a study which shows once more how impossible it is to draw precise boundaries in the twelfth century. Then M. Boussard takes up the subject which interests him most, the slow transfer of the purely personal power of the count to bureaucrats and courts. He believes that this process began only after the death of Geoffroy le Bel. He finds no permanent delegation of the count's judicial authority and no courts with power to constrain the nobles until well into the reign of Henry II. Perhaps M. Boussard underestimates the seneschal's position as a judge in the 1150's, but his main thesis seems amply proved. It appears exceedingly unlikely that Henry II found anything in the rudimentary institutions of Anjou which he could use in building up his government in England or Normandy. The scarcity of source material perhaps explains the absence of certain topics. There is nothing on the finances of the county, nothing on relations between the count and the towns, and very little on the church. On the credit side may be listed a very useful map of the county, some valuable documents among the *pièces justificatives*, and a very complete index.

JOSEPH R. STRAYER.

Cheshire in the Pipe Rolls, 1158-1301. Transcribed from 1237 by MABEL H. MILLS. Edited, with Notes, by R. STEWART-BROWN. (London, printed for the Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire by J. W. Ruddock and Sons, 1938, pp. xviii, 250.) "As it appears unlikely that, even under its present energetic organization, the Pipe Roll Society will, within a measurable time, reach the date (1237) when the unpublished and regular series of Cheshire entries upon the Pipe Rolls begins, this volume of such accounts, not so far paralleled for any other county over so lengthy a period, was devised to link up the varied information afforded by the returns of the revenues of the earldom of Chester on the Pipe Rolls with that provided by the local rolls of the Chamberlain of Chester, commencing in 1301, some of which were made accessible in volume 59 of this Society."

Petri Pictaviensis Allegoriae super tabernaculum Moysi. By PHILIP S. MOORE and JAMES A. CORBETT. [Mediaeval Studies, III.] (Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame, 1938, pp. xxiii, 214, \$2.25.) The text of the *Allegoriae* published here for the first time has been established from six of the nine extant manuscripts. In their discussion of the medieval practice of interpreting Holy Scripture in accordance with the fourfold sense—historical, allegorical, anagogical, tropological—the editors faced Peter's distinction between allegory and history recounted metaphorically. This distinction still remains to them obscure; nevertheless their correction of Father P. S. Moore's transcription in *The Works of Peter of Poitiers*, 1936 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 681), of a sentence in Peter's exegesis helps materially towards a solution of the problem.

Curia Regis Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office. Volume VIII, 3-4 *Henry III.* (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1938, pp. xiv, 539, \$9.00.) Continuing the series that has been favorably noticed in this *Review* (XLI, 795), this volume presents several of the earliest rolls of Henry III now extant. The text traverses some of the same ground covered by Bracton's Note Book. Since no sessions were held of the court *coram rege* during the king's minority, the proceedings are substantially those of a court of common pleas, among which are interspersed pleas of the crown, while at one point a so-called "Rogues' Roll" is introduced. For matters truly affecting the rights of the crown there could only be a succession of postponements in spite of the inconvenience. Naturally enough, in a period

of regency, the intervention of the council in the way of directing the proceedings, giving advice, and sometimes hearing the evidence was a new factor in the history of the court. A duplication of the rolls proves that sometimes *consilium* and *justiciarii* were interchangeable and equivalent terms. In consonance with the restrictive character of common law the cases tend toward formulaic actions with their respective writs and rules of evidence. Older actions like the possessory assizes were to be confined to their original purpose. The action of debt was not expanded, but that of detinue was coming into sight. Although there was no explicit jurisdiction in error, previous judgments of lesser courts were reviewed and sometimes reversed. For juries in all the variegations of the system the time seems to have been the very heyday, in spite of perpetual tardiness, abstention, and reluctance to serve. With all its faults the petit jury came into criminal trials during these same years. Together with the enrolment of charters, covenants, and quitclaims the records abound in allusions to villainage, socage, manorial services, and clerical privilege. Neither are personages like William Marshall and Fawkes de Breauté inconspicuous. Throughout the series editorial comment is confined to textual notes, but the indexes are comprehensive and admirable.

J. F. BALDWIN.

Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office. A. D. 1268-1272. (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1938, pp. vii, 694, \$10.30.) With this volume, the fourteenth in a series which was commenced in 1902, the publication of the close rolls of the reign of Henry III is completed. This particular volume contains the close rolls of the last four years of Henry III's reign, a period of relative calm after the tumult of baronial revolt. The royal orders, pardons, recognizances, fines, and memoranda that make up the rolls throw light on numerous aspects of the history of the time. Significant entries are to be found relating to tax administration, the supervision of sheriffs and other royal officials, the activities of the justices "ad custodiam Judeorum", prisage, forest pleas, the work of the itinerant justices, and the effect of the civil war on administrative and judicial activities. In the field of the regulation of business are to be noted the appearance in 1271 of the clerk of the market in connection with measure enforcement (p. 348) and the entries relating to the embargo on trade with Flanders (pp. 331, 439, 516). The index is to be commended for the detail of its subject analysis.

ARMAND B. DU BOIS.

Roger Bacon: A Biography. By F. WINTHROP WOODRUFF. (London, James Clarke, 1938, pp. vii, 160, 5s.) This is a popular biography based in part on the valuable collection of *Commemoration Essays* edited by A. G. Little (1914), on Bridges's introduction to Bacon's *Opus Majus*, and on selected passages from Bacon's writings. On the whole, it presents a clear picture of Bacon's education, the general state of knowledge in his period, and Bacon's own contributions to the advancement of civilization. Mr. Woodruff, however, makes the fundamental error, too often made by biographers, of imagining his hero to be the greatest man of his age and to have become great almost entirely by his own unaided efforts. Although he mentions certain teachers and writers who undoubtedly influenced Bacon, he does not give them credit enough. For instance, in discussing Bacon's work on the reform of the calendar he gives the impression that no other writer before Bacon had ever dealt with this subject although many earlier treatises had been written on it. In fact, Bacon's *Compotus* is based largely on that of Robert Grosseteste, Bacon's famous teacher. In controversial matters

concerning Bacon only one side of the question is presented and in such a way that the reader is not made aware of the fact that there is any other side. In spite, however, of these and other defects, Woodruff presents an excellent estimate of Bacon and his place in the history of learning.

MARY CATHERINE WELBORN.

Seignorial Administration in England. By N. DENHOLM-YOUNG. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. 196, \$3.50.) This study deals primarily with fiscal and judicial arrangements within certain of the major lay liberties of late thirteenth century England. Account rolls of magnates' officials, a type of source which has been little exploited, are here presented as rounding out the more familiar learning on private administration derived from quo warranto records, formbooks, and private court rolls. The continuity of particular series of documents is exploited in what are in effect a group of special studies. Most important of these is a chapter establishing the diplomatics of the account rolls. Two others should be mentioned, on the marketing of wool from Holderness, and a section under the harmless title "The Preservation of Liberties", which turns out to be a detailed study of the art of bribery with special reference to its utility in quo warranto proceedings. When the discussion turns, however, to the more familiar general problems of the liberty—quo warranto theory, honor and barony, the legal content of charter language—no attempt is made toward solution of controversial points, and the standard learning on these subjects is merely rehearsed in eclectic textbook fashion, although filled out conscientiously with detail supplied by any account roll that may happen to illustrate a point. Although local variation is exhibited, the account roll material is characterized by a uniformity of general pattern which is consistent with any one of the several disputed theories now current concerning the liberty. Consequently it seems apparent that the chief utility of this volume, notwithstanding the somewhat misleading generality of its title, lies in its disclosure of the possibilities of the private magnate's account roll as a neglected source of economic and social rather than legal or constitutional history.

IRWIN L. LANGBEIN.

Lodewijk van Velthem's Voortzetting van den Spiegel Historiae. Volume III. Edited by HERMAN VANDER LINDEN, PAUL DE KEYSER, and ADOLF VAN LOEY. [Académie royale de Belgique, Commission royale d'histoire.] (Brussels, Palais de l'Académie, 1938, pp. x, 450.) This is the final volume of a new edition of Lodewijk van Velthem's chronicle—a rhyming chronicle which is all too little known among students of European affairs of the opening of the fourteenth century. The first volume appeared in 1906, but the World War and changes in the editorial personnel interfered in the preparation of the second volume (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII, 363). This edition may be regarded as definitive. It is provided with critical notes, index, sketch of the author's life, and comments on the significance of his chronicle.

HENRY S. LUCAS.

Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and Other Analogous Documents preserved in the Public Record Office. Volume XII, *Edward III.* (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1938, pp. xxix, 603, \$9.25.) This volume, with its extensive index of persons and places, will provide a rich hunting ground for topographers and genealogists, but there is also much of interest to the antiquarian and the historian for the years 39-43 Edward III. The inquisitions are particularly full as to details of service and the appurtenances of tenements. The reader observes that land is held increasingly by such services as

raising the right hand every year at Christmas toward the king or making "unum saltum, suffletum et pettum". The proofs of age reveal interesting practices: gifts of wood, silk purses, or a silver arrow are at times given to certain persons upon the birth of an heir so that they will remember his age; church missals are being used as birth and death registers. We note that jurors' verdicts can be annulled in parliament. There are references to the fact that a knight's fee can vary in content from five to twenty carucates; there is mention of the pestilence of 23 Edward III, of sea-coal, and of grants made officially under the seal of the Griffin. It must be noted that cross references to the chancery and parliament rolls would have enhanced the value of the calendar; so, too, the more accurate placing of certain manors, such as Redburn, which belonged to the Lincolnshire barony of Crevequer. On page 75 the "lord de Insula" is left unidentified.

G. L. HASKINS.

Kaiser Karl IV. By Dr. JOSEF PFITZNER. [Bilder aus dem deutschen Leben.] (Potsdam, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1938, pp. 130, 4.80 M.) This is the first volume of a new German historical series. A number of historians are collaborating on a history of the Reich in which the emphasis will be on the hitherto much neglected personalities of the German kings and kaisers. If the remaining volumes prove to be of the high quality of Dr. Pfitzner's *Karl IV*, the historical world will look forward to them with eager anticipation. At last a student of Hans Hirsch has taken the combined evidence of Czech and German sources and woven it into a well-integrated picture of the life and times of Charles IV. The result is a refreshing, new, historical personality, a German emperor and king of Bohemia who is not the "greatest statesman of all times", or the "Erzstiefvater des Reichs", or a mere "Pfaffenkaiser", but a shrewd, cool, conservative politician. In such chapters as "Charakter und Weltbild", "Gesetzgebung", "Hausmachtpolitik", "Reichspolitik", and "Kulturwerk", a wealth of new material is brought to light because Dr. Pfitzner knows Charles so much better than others less familiar with every aspect of his reign. That the author is an authority in this field will hardly be doubted by anyone who examines the twenty-two pages of *Anmerkungen* at the end.

E. G. SCHWIEBERT.

Cosimo de' Medici, Pater Patriae, 1389-1464. By CURT S. GUTKIND. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. xii, 340, \$5.00.) Mr. Gutkind's persistent inaccuracy and uncritical acceptance of whatever adds flavor to his theme unfortunately go far toward discounting the merits of this biography. The background covers all Florentine history from Dante to Charles V, and the mass of detail, not always revelant, is assembled with small regard for chronology and with even less appreciation of the forces which, during those centuries, were changing the commune into a modern state. Personages are frequently confused; there is an evident ignorance of Florentine topography and customs; and most serious of all is the author's disregard of all archival sources. While the manuscript material relating to Cosimo is fragmentary and difficult to read, it is of the utmost importance for any estimate of his agricultural activities and business interests. Mr. Gutkind's contribution to the former is negligible; for the latter he relies on M. Grunzweig's admirable edition of the letters written from the Medici agents at Bruges to the home office. He overlooks the equally important correspondence of the agents in Rome and in Venice, and while he pays some attention to the branch in Milan, what he offers is superficial and misleading. In his analysis of Cosimo's relation to the state, however, he has cast aside the traditions and prejudices of the centuries and taken a step forward in his evaluation of the

achievements of the Medici. Cosimo was, as he says, primarily a merchant, and was forced into public life against his will. But Mr. Gutkind's lack of historical perspective prevents his grasping the fact that in domestic affairs the banker's influence rested solely on popular confidence in his wisdom and common sense and was seldom used for political ends. In foreign affairs he was practically absolute, shaping international policies according to the dictates of Florentine commercial interests. Incidentally he gave to the Balance of Power the machinery necessary to its effective functioning, and his methods are still the tools of diplomacy.

GERTRUDE R. B. RICHARDS.

The Commentaries of Pius II. Translation by FLORENCE ALDEN GRAGG. With Historical Introduction and Notes by LEONA C. GABEL. (Northampton, Smith College Studies in History, Vol. XXII, Nos. 1-2, October, 1936-January, 1937, pp. 114, \$1.50.) As Leona Gabel remarks in the introduction, "the literary productivity of fifteenth century Italian humanism is more impressive for its bulk than for works of enduring quality or profound insight". Nevertheless, it has an immense significance for the history of European culture, for nowhere else can we find so clearly expressed the fundamental change in attitude and interests that followed the appearance of an educated urban laity. That many of the humanists were clerics and that two or three, like Aeneas Sylvius, rose to the highest office in the church is aside from the point. Pius II remained a characteristic product of Italian city life, viewing the world of men as a man of the world. This secular view of life found its best expression in historical writing. With the humanists modern historiography was born. The *Commentaries of Pius II* is one of the most interesting examples of the memoir type of humanist history. Few men had had such wide experience to draw upon, and every page reflects the charm and the disarmingly naïve vanity that made the "pious Aeneas" one of the best beloved of poets and diplomats. The present translation has especial value in that it is based on the original manuscript discovered by Ludwig von Pastor. It includes a number of very enlightening passages which were deleted, and not without reason, from the later official text and printed editions. The unexpurgated account of the election of Pius II is invaluable. The editors promise eventually to publish the text and a translation of the entire work, a consummation devoutly to be hoped for. The present volume contains only the translation of Book I, but for that, as well as for the useful explanatory notes, we are in the meantime very grateful.

WALLACE K. FERGUSON.

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

W. F. Craven

Sword, Lance & Bayonet: A Record of the Arms of the British Army & Navy. By CHARLES FFOULKES and Captain E. C. HOPKINSON. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xvi, 142, \$5.00.) Both authors have the necessary qualifications to give this book authority, and one can rely upon the information here set forth, obtained as it was in great part not only from the war office records but from a study of the representative exhibits of the weapons now preserved in the Tower and in the Imperial War Museum. This information is not otherwise easily available. The volume includes an account of the arms that have come into use since armor was discarded, dates for the introduction and elimination of the various types, and references to contemporary illustrations. It contains, as well, a bibliography, an index, and an appendix dealing with muskets, rifles, and carbines. The sword section, forming the principal part of the book, is a skillful marshaling of a myriad of facts that might prove tedious but for the interesting anecdotes, legends, and accounts of the effects of certain weapons on the fate of battles, which add a lively touch. Since the designs of army swords are not progressive but purely arbitrary, the illustrations of the royal ciphers are helpful in identifying the reign to which each belongs. The two plates of photographic illustrations of the swords are excellent, showing the hilts from slightly below the guard and looking up, bringing out differences lost in a profile view. The section on staff weapons is particularly welcome as little has been published in this field. The lance is treated in detail, and essential notes are given about pikes, linstocks, officers' spontoons, and sergeants' halberds, while the bayonet is dealt with at length. The book is indispensable to authors, artists, collectors, and military and naval people. It will save students untold hours of research, for without it one would have difficulty indeed in answering convincingly most questions coming within its scope. STEPHEN V. GRANCAY.

Guide to the Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, 1870-1911. Part II, *Index of Persons*. Edited by FRANCIS BICKLEY. Second Section, *Lever—Z*. [Historical Manuscripts Commission.] (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1938, pp. iii, 449-859, \$2.75.) The first section of this *Index of Persons* was noticed in Volume XLII, page 174.

Catalogue of Manuscripts and Other Objects in the Museum of the Public Record Office, with Brief Descriptive and Historical Notes. By Sir H. C. MAXWELL LYTE. Revised with Further Additions by R. L. ATKINSON. (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1938, pp. x, 98, 30 cents.) A new and enlarged edition with illustrations.

Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy from 1500. By the Rev. HENRY ISHAM LONGDEN. Volume I. (Northampton, Archer and Goodman, 1938, pp. 225, 10s. 6d.) This is an alphabetical list of the names of the clergy of two counties which were formed into the diocese of Peterborough in 1541. If completed this compilation will extend to many volumes as the present one does not go through the letter B.

Il regno di Enrico VIII d'Inghilterra secondo i documenti contemporanei. By CORRADO FATTA. Two volumes. (Florence, "La Nuova Italia", 1938, pp. 678; 736, 50 l.) This is an admirable and very detailed history of the reign of Henry VIII, based on a thorough knowledge of the *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Do-*

mestic, and other sources, and on careful reading of all the standard histories and special monographs which deal with the period. References are given for all important facts, and the bibliography at the beginning of the first volume affords additional evidence of the breadth of the author's reading. The emphasis is distinctly on the narrative side and especially on the effect of the divorce and breach with Rome upon England's relations to the Continental powers; at moments one almost feels as if one were rereading the famous *Prefaces* of Brewer and Gairdner. Signor Fatta tests his own impartiality from time to time, as his story goes on, and has ample justification for maintaining that his standpoint is neither pro- nor anti-Catholic. He simply tells the tale of "the majestic lord who broke the bonds of Rome" and thereby founded an "imperial state" emancipated from every sort of foreign intervention and influence (II, 67, 687). One naturally wonders where among his countrymen the author is likely to find readers for a book as long as this, dealing with the reign of a monarch who, though indubitably a most dramatic personality, was the ruler of a foreign land. At first sight one would not expect that Signor Fatta would find many outside the ranks of the professional historians; a book with so many footnotes and references gives the appearance of having been written primarily for the specialist. But a closer inspection, particularly of the concluding pages, reveals an attitude distinctly "simpático" to the totalitarian state; the author tells a story with which the present Italian government is probably not at all sorry to have its followers familiar. The fact that the book appears in the series known as the Biblioteca di Cultura is additional evidence in the same direction. ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. By EDWIN CASADY. (New York, Modern Language Association of America, 1938, pp. xii, 257, \$2.50.) A useful but uninspired biography of the sixteenth century sonneteer.

Ayr Burgh Accounts, 1534-1624. Transcribed and edited with an Introduction by GEORGE S. PRYDE. (Edinburgh, printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1937, pp. cxxv, 313.) This volume forms an important addition to the publications of the Scottish Historical Society. Not only are the Ayr Burgh accounts themselves of special usefulness because they are the most complete in Scotland, but the manner of editing and the introduction also contribute to the high scholarly value of the volume. Dr. Pryde has reproduced in full the accounts of four selected years and a number of additional items of particular interest. He has given the accounts of other years in abstract, using an arrangement of headings and subheadings that classifies the material in readily available form. As a result we have before us an elaborate illustration of the life and government of the burgh, as well as of the technique used in accounting and auditing. The long introduction deals with the basis of burgh finance, the treasurer's revenue and expenditure, the activities of other financial officers, and extraordinary financial matters. It serves both to analyze and explain the material that follows. The nature of rents, taxes, and fees, the functions of burgh officials, the financial support of the church and education, problems arising from frequent occurrence of the plague—these are among the many matters discussed. In his treatment of them Dr. Pryde has made many comparisons with the usages of other burghs. Indeed it is not too much to say that the introduction provides an excellent brief survey of burgh government and finance in Scotland from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century.

F. G. MARCHAM.

The Mathematical Work of John Wallis, D. D., F. R. S., 1616-1703. By J. F. SCOTT. With a Foreword by E. N. da C. Andrade. (London, Taylor and Francis, 1938,

pp. xi, 240, 12s. 6d.) This is the narrative of the life and work of a distinguished though personally ambitious, unamiable, and uninteresting man—one whose notable contributions to the development of mathematical analysis and theoretical mechanics have been obscured and have remained in great measure unappreciated principally as a consequence of the more brilliant achievements of his immediate successors, notably Newton. The book will be of value to all students of the history of science, especially since in its fourth, ninth, and seventh chapters it presents summary analyses of the most important works of Wallis, his *Arithmetica Infinitorum* (1656) and *Treatise of Algebra* (1685)—the first of which is perhaps the closest approach to a general infinitesimal calculus made before Leibnitz and Newton—and his *Mechanica* (1670), in which a correspondingly significant, though imperfect, attempt was made to generalize the elementary theory of mechanics, and in which the correct results of his original researches on impact were recorded. In an adequate criticism these summaries would claim first attention; but the requisite discussion would be mathematical and too involved to find its proper place in these pages. One aspect of the study, however, would be of interest to the humanistic scholar: that, namely, which bears upon the history of the very slow clarification of those fundamental mechanical concepts in terms of which classical physical theory has come to be expressed. This matter is discussed in the opening pages of the seventh chapter, less judiciously, perhaps, than might be wished, since the confusion of thought that prevailed before Wallis appears to be overemphasized in comparison with that of Wallis himself, whose own ideas, though certain of them quite definitely anticipated those of Newton, were themselves still ambiguous or erratic, especially his concepts of force and infinity. Of incidental interest also, especially in the psychological clinic, would be the facts presented in the tenth chapter concerning the vicious and abnormally protracted polemic between Wallis and the philosopher Hobbes.

FREDERICK BARRY.

Public Order and Popular Disturbances, 1660-1714. By MAX BELOFF. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. viii, 168, \$3.50.) This work has been well planned and well executed. The author has examined in turn the social, political, and economic structure of England during half a century and in each case has discussed the riots which hard conditions or unpopular measures caused. He has cast his net widely and has carefully sifted a mass of information about disorders of all kinds. In view of the apparent rapid increase in the number of the poor and the harsher treatment of the indigent, it is surprising that poverty did not cause more unrest, but there is no reason to believe that the amount of rioting due to social or economic causes has been underestimated in this book. It may seem ungrateful in view of the valuable information actually supplied to ask for more, but the Sacheverell riots, familiar though they are, require more detailed treatment than they receive. Here was a startling phenomenon and one recognized as such by contemporaries. The London mob, which for a century had rioted for Protestantism (often nonconformity) and liberty, apparently turned around suddenly and shouted for Dr. Sacheverell and high church. The *volte face* is not satisfactorily explained by Mr. Beloff—or anyone else for that matter. Space prevents any serious attempt to remedy the defect here, but one suggestion may be hazarded. The various societies to improve manners, formed in London after 1689 by low churchmen or nonconformists, had alienated the poor beneficiaries, who were as ungrateful to the reformers as the recipients of Mrs. Jellyby's advice were to her.

G. DAVIES.

Early Letters of Robert Wodrow, 1698-1709. Edited from the Manuscript in Edinburgh University Library, with Notes and Extracts from the Answers to these

Letters in the National Library of Scotland, by L. W. SHARP. (Edinburgh, University Press for the Scottish History Society, 1937, pp. lvi, 332.) This volume contains a portion of Wodrow's correspondence which was missing when Dr. M'Crie published three volumes of letters in 1842-43. These earlier letters show the distinguished preacher, historian, and politician of the kirk at the beginning of his career, when he was librarian of the University of Glasgow and later a young minister at Eastwood. Though we find him wrestling with the absolute decree of reprobation before he had turned twenty, he was nevertheless a child of the Enlightenment in its straitened Scottish chapter. He collected not only books for his struggling library but antiquities and natural curiosities and vast quantities of scientific and pseudo-scientific information from correspondents in all parts of Europe. His letters build up a faithful picture of this Scottish decade: the close relations—religious, intellectual, and commercial—between Scotland and Holland; the passionate hopes and bitter despair which were the fruit of the Darien adventure; the fears and suspicions excited by the Union; the struggle with episcopacy and with Jacobitism; the clash of credulity with skepticism on the subject of witchcraft. The editor has done Wodrow too much honor in comparing him to Pepys and to Boswell, but he was a courageous swimmer in the strong tides of thought and emotion which swept his land and his time.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

A King in Toils. By J. D. GRIFFITH DAVIES. (London, Lindsay Drummond, 1938, pp. xiii, 375, 12s. 6d.) *A King in Toils* is a study of royal quarrels and political intrigues during the lifetime of the man who became George the Second, king of England. The chief characters, in addition to George II, include his wife Caroline, his son Frederick, his father George I, the royal mistresses, and the principal ministers, to say nothing of a host of minor personalities. In Mr. Davies's words, his work is "not a biography but rather a record of 'relationships'". As such it deals with a limited number of the factors that make political history. Scholars will not find that the period has been illumined by the fresh use of old sources or by the discovery of new. To students the lack of references for the innumerable quotations is likely to be annoying. The work does not, however, have a popular appeal, for the characters are too shadowy and lifeless to stir the imagination, and as a result their affairs, and even the scandal and gossip that abound in these pages, become dull and meaningless. To one unfamiliar with the period the unorganized masses of detail are certain to be confusing, while the breaking of the chapters into sections gives the narrative a disjointed effect. It is difficult to suggest, therefore, what class of readers such a political history can serve. The appendixes include a bibliography which, as the author notes, "does not pretend to be exhaustive", a convenient list of ministers, and a contemporary ballad. An index and a modern pictorial map illustrating the war in North America complete the contents.

DORA MAE CLARK.

The Making of an Evangelist: A Study of John Wesley's Early Years. By ELIZABETH KRISTINE NOTTINGHAM, Wheaton College. (Norton, privately printed, 1938, pp. v, 177, \$2.00.) Dr. Nottingham has written a valuable monograph based on the printed primary and secondary works dealing with the career of John Wesley. She is to be commended for her fresh approach to material already known. The characters of eighteenth century England, usually provincial by birth, provide that strange contrast between the man who quietly stayed at home and the one who ventured abroad to distant lands. The one might be a bookkeeper in Lombard Street, the other, Robert Clive in India. Miss Nottingham has hit upon the happy device of making this contrast between the quiet life of Parson James Woodforde, a conforming clergyman thoroughly settled into his English village

community, and the career of John Wesley, who, diverted from a similar village life through his frontier experiences in Georgia, later adapted his amazing abilities to the service of all classes and all faiths in the British Isles. In brief, Miss Nottingham presents the Georgia experiment as a miniature laboratory for the transformation of Wesley's philosophy and ideas into his later plan to minister to all men rather than to win the approval of the squire of the parish. The evolution of the evangelist's inner nature and outlook from the narrow high church convictions of his Oxford days is partially matched by the revolutionary changes of the century in industry and agriculture, with the resultant uprooting and migration of people within the islands. Incidentally, John Wesley's career, as well as that of Whitefield, furnishes striking eighteenth century evidence of the influence of new world societies on the home land through repatriation. The amount of space given to Parson Woodforde suggests a change of subtitle to indicate the treatment by contrasts between him and Wesley. In the bibliography the books on Charles Wesley alone are given without publication date.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

The Torrington Diaries. Edited by C. BRUYN ANDREWS. Volume IV. (New York, Henry Holt, 1938, pp. xi, 274, \$3.00.) This is the concluding volume of the diary of John Byng, fifth viscount Torrington, covering the years 1781 to 1794. It is valuable chiefly to students of social history.

British History in the Nineteenth Century and After, 1782-1919. By GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1938, pp. xvi, 512, \$3.50.) In this edition "four new chapters have been added, which bring the narrative down to the Peace of 1919".

The London Miscellany: A Nineteenth Century Scrapbook. Compiled by ROBERT HARLING. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. 256, \$3.00.) In his unnecessarily disarming prologue the author proffers this collection of extracts and graphic illustrations designed "to combine information with amusement" and points out that the making of scrapbooks is a personal affair. His tastes, however, are most catholic, and his examples are, on the whole, unfamiliar, so that students of London life will find much to reward them. The book is never dull, except perhaps in the amount of attention it gives to shops. It would have been more useful to historians had the references to sources been more exact and ample.

J. B. BREBNER.

Letters from Benjamin Disraeli to Frances Anne, Marchioness of Londonderry, 1837-1861. Edited with an Introduction by the MARCHIONESS OF LONDONDERRY. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xxv, 195, \$3.25.) "This is trifling stuff—but I thought it might amuse you", wrote Disraeli to Lady Londonderry on September 5, 1848. This opinion can be applied to his whole correspondence with her, admirably edited by the present marchioness, a daughter of Henry Chaplin, one of Disraeli's most loyal supporters. Most of the letters were written between 1845 and 1858, the period of Disraeli's rise to power in his party, but they add little to what is already known. They were consulted by G. E. Buckle for his continuation of the *Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, and the most important parts of them were printed in Volumes III and IV. Besides being pleasant reading, this collection is interesting in providing a check on the accuracy of the quotations in the Monypenny and Buckle biography of Disraeli, still the sole source for much of the history of Conservative party politics. Comparison of this edition of the letters to Lady Londonderry with Buckle's quotations from them shows that the latter reparagraphed the sentences and expanded abbreviations but otherwise

made no changes. Buckle's numerous omissions are of trivial comment or of matter irrelevant to his subject. The few differences in wording are probably due to Disraeli's handwriting and do not change the sense except in the case of a quotation from a letter of December 26, 1846, stating that the protectionist section of the party could do better than Peel's late ministry if they did not lack "genuine inspiration". The bantering letter in the new complete version reads "feminine inspiration"! Disraeli could not have failed to receive this personally from one to whom he wrote with such a light touch and such pleasant flattery.

FRANCIS H. HERRICK.

A Century of Bank Rate. By R. G. HAWTREY. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1938, pp. x, 328, \$4.00.) "A history of the practice of the Bank of England in employing its discount rate as an instrument of monetary regulation".

Parnell, Joseph Chamberlain, and Mr. Garvin. By HENRY HARRISON. (London, Robert Hale, 1938, pp. ix, 255, 10s. 6d.) This book offers a nice little analysis in historical criticism. The author has a hero, Parnell, and his hero is disparaged by another author, J. L. Garvin, in order that the latter may praise all the more highly his own hero and Parnell's enemy, Joseph Chamberlain. Therefore Mr. Harrison writes this book to attack Mr. Garvin's biography of Chamberlain. He proves that it is too laudatory, a fact upon which most historians would agree, and also demonstrates clearly that the British cabinet knew, and that Chamberlain also knew, all about Parnell's liaison with Mrs. O'Shea many years before divorce proceedings were begun, a fact which he thinks Mr. Garvin should have elucidated. More serious is Mr. Harrison's major charge against Chamberlain. After that statesman finally broke with Parnell he saw, according to our author, a chance to ruin the Irish Home Ruler by getting Captain O'Shea to divorce his wife, naming Parnell as correspondent. The evidence, however, to back this charge is purely circumstantial. Direct evidence there is none. Lacking further substantiation, about all one can say is that presumably Chamberlain regarded Parnell's downfall with equanimity, quite a different thing from his engaging in low plots to bring it to pass. Both Parnell and Chamberlain may well be criticized for associating with O'Shea as much as they did. On the other hand, the long and labored argument of this book to prove Chamberlain and his biographer not only bitterly prejudiced but deliberately unfair does not seem very convincing.

WALTER P. HALL.

The Chamberlain Tradition. By Sir CHARLES PETRIE. (New York, Stokes, 1938, pp. x, 361, \$2.50.) Sir Charles Petrie, in his story of the three Chamberlains, is convincing in his characterization of them as statesmen "distinguished by leadership, courage, initiative and realism". The services of Joseph Chamberlain as mayor of Birmingham during the seventies deserve the author's conclusion that "no man in modern times has done more to raise the standard of municipal life". During the World War his son Neville, in his mayoralty, carried on this tradition of high-minded service. Sir Austen, carefully trained for a parliamentary career, gave himself unreservedly to the nation for forty-five years. In their advocacy of national social reform England owes the Chamberlains a further debt. Sir Charles evaluates very highly Joseph Chamberlain's influence upon Conservative policy, but the social legislation of the Conservatives was meager in comparison with Mr. Chamberlain's earlier aspirations as a Radical within the Liberal party. Interest in social welfare became a Chamberlain tradition, and Neville, as minister of health, devoted himself to the housing and health of the people. After 1900 the Chamberlains' conception of social welfare

came to include tariff reform, and in initiating and carrying through this program their contribution is outstanding. The world today associates the Chamberlain trio mainly with imperialism and foreign affairs: Joseph, the director of South African policy which terminated in the Boer War; Sir Austen, in 1925 the much applauded diplomat of the Locarno Pact; Neville, the spiritual father of the Munich Agreement, the ratification of which by the house of commons is the concluding episode in Sir Charles's story. In each situation the author's analysis of the statesmanship involved is that of a stanch Conservative who sees in their actions "a perfect blend of realism and idealism". For the American reader the book gives a useful and somewhat critical, though undocumented, exposition of the Chamberlain contribution to British public life.

ELSIE E. GULLEY.

The Silent Social Revolution: An Account of the Expansion of Public Education in England and Wales, 1895-1935. By G. A. N. LOWNDES. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. xii, 274, \$2.25.) The English public is not as a rule credited with great enthusiasm for education. As compared with the United States there are in England few of the perfervid expressions of faith in education as an instrument of social progress. Except when the issue of religious instruction in the schools was uppermost, as at the beginning of the century, interest in educational legislation has been neither serious nor widespread. And yet although the progress of English education has not been spectacular, it has nevertheless been marked and continuous since the abolition of the system of "payment by results" in 1895. It is to this period that Mr. Lowndes has devoted his attention, and he has produced a book that presents an interesting and scholarly account of the interplay between social forces and education which has led to the development of a national system of education that has the merit of being flexible and capable of responding to modern requirements. Mr. Lowndes is not blind to some of the defects of English education, and he does not claim to have undertaken more than to prove that "the task was worthily begun". How well it has been begun is strikingly shown in the too few illustrations contrasting the past and the present. Mr. Lowndes has no cause to apologize, as he appears to do in his preface, for "adding to the already weighty pile of works upon education"; he has provided a substitute for a number of less readable and less scholarly histories of English education.

I. L. KANDEL.

The Law and the Constitution. By IVOR JENNINGS. Second edition. (London, University of London Press, 1938, pp. xviii, 322.) Many passages in the first edition of this book, which was published in 1933, have been rewritten, and the material has been considerably reorganized in the interest of more effective exposition.

An Introduction to the History of Bermuda. By WESLEY FRANK CRAVEN. [Reprinted from *William and Mary College Quarterly*.] (New York, Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, pp. 172, v, \$2.00.) This book is a by-product of Professor Craven's *Dissolution of the Virginia Company*, the close connection between that and the Bermuda Company having led him from one to the other, and it deals with the first period of colonization in Bermuda. It supplements Henry Wilkinson's *Adventurers of Bermuda*, which carries the story to 1684 and is written from the viewpoint of the islanders. Professor Craven confines himself to the period from 1609 to 1623 and writes chiefly from the viewpoint of the company. He explains that he has not consulted all possible sources and professes to have presented merely an essay. But certainly he has used the most important sources for his purposes and makes worthwhile contributions to the history of

colonization. He puts Bermuda in its rightful place in the colonization of America. Historians of the thirteen colonies have displayed a certain insularity and to their own loss have neglected the other colonies of British North America. Professor Craven has corrected this defect in respect of his period, and within the limits he has set himself he has done a good piece of work. W. B. KERR.

The Canadians: The Story of a People. By GEORGE M. WRONG. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. viii, 455, \$3.50.) This book does not profess to be either a comprehensive work to be used as a textbook or a new interpretation of Canadian history but is avowedly a popular history aimed at the general reader. It is eminently readable and, within the limits set by the author, fresh and informing. Leading personages, whether explorers, missionaries, or political figures, are skillfully drawn, and the historical narrative is organized in large part around their careers. An urbane breadth of view marks the treatment; the reader is frequently reminded that Canadian problems and developments have had their wider relationships to currents in the world outside. Relations with the United States receive marked attention. Generous space, more than two thirds of the whole, is given to the period of the Old Regime, when the foundations of French Canada were being laid and the rivalry between French and English for mastery of the continent was running its course. Attention to events since the conquest is divided almost equally at the close of the War of 1812 and the consummation of federation in 1867. A concluding chapter presents a picture of the Canadians of today as they live their lives in the several well-marked regions lying between Atlantic and Pacific. It would be invidious to ask that a work aimed at one target should also be aimed at another, and it may well be, moreover, that the appropriate time has not yet arrived for the sort of single volume interpreting Canadian history in comprehensive fashion which some students will wish that Professor Wrong had now preferred to write. At any rate a large audience should find in the book he has written pleasant evidence that Canadian history is both interesting and significant. REGINALD G. TROTTER.

Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records. Volume XXXII. (Toronto, the Society, 1937, pp. 225.) The following articles should be noted: "The Invasion of Navy Island in 1837-8" by E. A. Cruikshank; "Gananoque Block House, 1813-1859" by Frank Eames; "The Proudfoot Papers" (concluded) by M. A. Garland; "The Industrial Development of Ontario, 1783-1820" by Mary Quayle Innis; "The History of the Newspaper Press in London, 1830-1875" by H. Orlo Miller; "A U.E. Loyalist Family" by W. L. Scott; "The Upper Canada Central School" by George W. Spragge.

The Missisquoi Loyalists. By THOMAS C. LAMPEE. (Brattleboro, Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, 1938, pp. 62, 75 cents.) During the American Revolution, and particularly after the surrender of Burgoyne, many streams of refugee Loyalists flowed into Canada, and the settlement on Missisquoi Bay, at the head of Lake Champlain, made in the spring of 1784, was only one of the numerous reservoirs into which these streams poured. The author sketches the antecedents and background of the settlers, illustrating his narrative by the personal experiences of one Peter Miller. The settlement created something of a problem for the Canadian authorities, while for themselves the settlers found new worries in the conflicting land titles. E. C. BURNETT.

Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820 and 1821, and Report. Edited by E. E. RICH. With a Foreword by Lord Tweedsmuir. [Hudson's Bay Company Series.] (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1938, pp. lix,

498, xiii.) This volume is important as the first of a series making the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company available through an arrangement for publication with the Champlain Society. It is an account of the writer's visit to the important fur trading region on the Athabasca in the last year of intense competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company and in the first year of a long period of the writer's dominance over the trading activities of the modern Hudson's Bay Company. As the journal covers his first visit, it is detailed in its account of the country through which the trip was made, the activities of the traders, the Indians, and every aspect which threw light on the possibility of increasing the profits of the trade. It was written with an eye to impressing his employers, and his comments on his rivals in the Hudson's Bay Company and on his competitors in the North West Company were not free of prejudice. The document has been edited exhaustively, perhaps too exhaustively, and appendixes of descriptions of posts and districts and of biographical notes have been added. There is an index and valuable maps. Professor Chester Martin has written an introduction which traces the struggle in the Selkirk settlement and the recognition by the government of the advantages of union, describes the second effort of the Hudson's Bay Company to defeat the North West Company in the rich fur trading region beyond the territory granted in its charter on the Athabasca, and gives an account of the steps toward coalition. From this background one can approach the significance of Simpson's activities and appreciate the character of the baptism of fire which converted him from an inexperienced trader to the master of Rupert's Land. H. A. INNIS.

Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters. By C. B. Sissons. With a Foreword by E. W. Wallace. Volume I. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. x, 601, \$5.00.) When the history of Ontario comes to be written, the name of Egerton Ryerson should occupy a prominent place. He touched the life of this still plastic province in such varied fields as journalism, religion, politics, and education, and where he touched it he left his mark. Part of his strength lay in the fact that he was in every sense native born. This kept him from getting too far ahead of his time. It also made it possible for him to espouse weak causes yet always to be on the winning side. This first volume of his life and letters reproduces documents from the Ryerson Papers in the Victoria University library, Toronto. It covers the period 1825-1841, from the beginning of Ryerson's career as an itinerant Methodist preacher—he was reared a Tory Anglican—to his appointment as principal of the newly established Victoria College. It includes the period of his editorship of the *Christian Guardian*, an organ which he used as a sounding board for his denunciations of the pretensions of the Anglican oligarchy to regard themselves as "established". He particularly urged the secularization of the "clergy reserves". Perhaps, however, his most significant act in this period was his repudiation of radicalism in 1833, thereby condemning the Mackenzie movement to violence and defeat. Opinions will likely continue to differ on the decisiveness of his influence on the elections of 1836. Although this volume consists principally of documents, there is a substantial amount of interlocutory material. The author shows an obvious enthusiasm for his subject which leads him, despite his intentions, to celebrate Ryerson's career while explaining the setting of the documents. It is to be hoped that the second volume may not long be delayed. Meanwhile historians also await biographies of Ryerson's opponents. W. MENZIES WHITELAW.

The Dairy Industry in Canada. By J. A. RUDDICK, W. M. DRUMMOND, R. E. ENGLISH, and J. E. LATTIMER. Edited by H. A. Innis. [The Relations of Canada and

the United States, James T. Shotwell, General Editor.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1937, pp. xxxii, 299, \$3.75.) Following a brief but illuminating sketch of the historical background of the dairy industry by Professor Innis, in which twentieth century trends are emphasized, a little over a hundred pages are devoted to the development of the industry from the seventeenth century to the present. Prepared by Dr. Ruddick, grand old man of the Canadian dairy industry, this part of the book emphasizes five items, namely, the introduction of dairy cattle into Canada and their improvement, the butter and cheese industry, the production and marketing of milk, the organization of Canadian dairymen, and governmental assistance to the dairy industry. The author here apparently drew heavily upon his experience and memory. After noting the place of dairying in Canadian agriculture, Professor Drummond in Part III of the volume stresses the major economic problems which confront the industry: stability of output, prices, cost of production, and marketing. His consideration of the tremendous supplies of dairy products flooding the British markets in recent years should give pause to the Canadian dairymen intent on expansion. The brief account of dairying in the lower Fraser River valley by R. E. English, which constitutes Part IV, throws much light upon the effort of the dairy industry to develop in a region of western Canada. Part V, entitled "American Tariff Policy and the Canadian Dairy Industry", shows succinctly that the trend toward self-sufficiency in the United States accentuates the trend toward self-sufficiency in Canada. The benefits of reciprocity in this connection are duly weighed. A summary note on the dairy industry in the Maritime Provinces by S. A. Saunders is included as one of the appendixes. The others are concerned with statistics of the industry. Despite its good points, this book is not a well-rounded, integrated, and definitive history of the Canadian dairy industry. It is, rather, a compendium to which future students of this subject will turn for much valuable factual material.

HARRY J. CARMAN.

A History of Transportation in Canada. By G. P. DE T. GLAZEBROOK. Foreword by H. A. Innis. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, James T. Shotwell, General Editor.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1938, pp. xxv, 475, \$4.00.) This book deserves wide reading. It is a history of transportation, but since the history of Canada, like the history of the United States, is largely the record of the growth of its transportation facilities, which, pushed westward across the continent, gradually opened to development and exploitation the vast resources of field, mine, and forest, it is really a good economic history of Canada. Natural waterways, the first crude highways, artificial waterways, steam railroads, electric roads, and paved highways for local transit and trade, and finally the airplane—all the varied forms of transportation which have had a part in the economic development of Canada come within the scope of Professor Glazebrook's work. The book is well organized and well balanced, the largest part being devoted, naturally, to the railroads. The American reader will be interested to find in the record of Canadian railway development the same stories of high finance, speculation, construction frauds, excessive competition, wasteful duplication of facilities, ill-considered projects, political maneuvering, and governmental problems that have characterized the development of railroads in the United States. Canada has taken one step in the solution of her railroad problem, however, which this country so far has been able to avoid; her government has taken over the ownership and operation of a substantial portion of the railroad network. One of the most interesting parts of Professor Glazebrook's work is his impartial and informative discussion of Canada's present railway difficulties, with the

roads about equally divided between private and public ownership, and the entire business in financial distress. The proposed St. Lawrence waterway comes in for consideration in one of the later chapters. While he is somewhat noncommittal in his opinion as to the merits of this project, it is easy to see that Professor Glazebrook is doubtful whether it would, if carried out, fulfill the expectations of its more ardent advocates and promoters.

T. W. VAN METRE.

Die koloniale Entwicklung des Anglo-Ägyptischen Sudans. By Dr. WALTER KRÄMER. [Neue deutsche Forschungen.] (Berlin, Junker und Dünhaupt, 1938, pp. 239, 10.50 M.) This volume is one more in the rapidly growing series of colonial studies emanating from Germany. After giving a conventional description of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the author retells the region's varying history under its changing masters since 1820. Emphasis is placed upon the period of the condominium established in 1899. Not much attention is given to the relations of England and Egypt which developed as a result of the feeling of each that the Sudan was a "vital necessity". The author wonders whether the treaty signed by the two countries in 1936 is the beginning of a new chapter in this unusual history. He believes that this agreement was hastened by Italy's control of Lake Tana and thinks the future may have real surprises as a consequence of Egypt's desire to be sole master of the upper Nile. The economic development of the Sudan receives most detailed treatment, in particular the production of cotton in the *Gezira*, the "island" lying between the Blue and White Niles. For what England has achieved in economic and political reconstruction since the devastation of the Mahdist era the author has nothing but warm praise. It is surprising that the author has made so little use of the numerous studies by French writers on Egyptian and Sudanese history. The book would have been improved in minor respects if attention had been given to Professor W. L. Langer's recent researches into the activities of European countries in the Sudan in the nineties. The book has two inadequate maps and no index.

HARRY R. RUDIN.

The Colonial Empire and its Civil Service. By CHARLES JEFFRIES. With a Foreword by the Rt. Hon. Lord Harlech. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xxv, 259, \$3.00.) The British colonial service, rather than the empire it serves, is the subject of this historical and descriptive volume. The only previous comparable book is Sir Anton Bertram's *The Colonial Service* (1930), but this is now out of date, as it was written before the recent reorganizations in the service. Unification is Mr. Jeffries's central theme. Until lately the public service of each colony was, with a few exceptions, treated as a separate and self-sufficient unit, and the exceptions were in the direction of regional rather than empire-wide services. A unified colonial administrative service was established in 1932, following the report of the Warren Fisher Committee in 1930, and similar services—medical, veterinary, agricultural, and others—have since been created. These unified services "are a part of the general structure of the Colonial Service. . . . An officer who is a member of one of these Services is not the less for that reason a member of the public service of the Colony in which he is employed and by which he is paid. . . . But the membership of the larger community implies a professional status, a readiness and capacity for general service, the prospect of a wider career, a guarantee of supervision by the Secretary of State of the conditions of employment." Mr. Jeffries has written an authoritative and very useful book, based on official documents and on information gained in the course of his work at the Colonial Office.

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FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS

S. B. Clough

Histoire du Nivernais. By ALFRED MASSÉ. [Les vieilles provinces de France.] (Paris, Boivin, 1938, pp. 307, 27 fr.) A history of the Nivernais should be very interesting. This province, long independent of the French crown, had a character of its own. At the same time, lying as it did in the heart of France, it reflected many of the interests and activities of the rest of the country. Unfortunately M. Massé has given us only fragments of the history of the province. The social, political, and economic life of the Nivernais is described fully only for the Celtic and Roman periods. Between 700 and 1789 its history becomes a history of the counts and dukes of Nevers. Genealogical and biographical details crowd out almost everything else. Medieval institutions and laws are not discussed, except for a brief chapter listing charters granted to communes. There are only a few incidental references to the government of the duchy in the seventeenth century. There is no description of urban or rural economic activities before 1600, and the few scattered remarks on the subject which creep into the text are not always very accurate. As a result the very period in which the individuality of the province was most clearly marked is the period about which we are given the least information. It is difficult, even in writing the history of a small province, to compress the events of three thousand years into three hundred pages. It is impossible to do so if half the space is given to details of family history.

JOSEPH R. STRAYER.

L'évolution pédagogique en France. By ÉMILE DURKHEIM. Two volumes. With an Introduction by Maurice Halbwachs. [Bibliothèque de Philosophie contemporaine.] (Paris, Alcan, 1938, pp. 221; 226, 50 fr.) Durkheim is a trained historian whose career has been devoted to the training and supervision of teachers. In this book he presents an interpretation of well-known facts in the history of educational institutions and theory. He makes no effort to add to the body of historical knowledge in the field, but he does make a definite contribution in his use of known facts to illustrate the characteristics of pedagogical theory in various periods. The book would be more useful to historians if it contained more facts; if, for example, it showed at what times and in which places certain theories were put into practice and certain types of schools were founded. It would have provided historians with a valuable reference work if it had devoted some space to the universities and schools of the French provinces. The book is a series of lectures published in the form in which they were delivered

at the Sorbonne. Some chapters consist almost entirely of critical studies of quoted and translated sources, and it is clear that the conclusions of the author are the result of an intensive study of these and other sources, many of which are habitually ignored by writers in this field. These sources, incidentally, are taken as illustrating the purpose and practice of the education of the period, not as samples of misguided idealism judged from the standpoint of present-day custom and practice. It is unfortunate that the extensive bibliography which, according to the introduction, Durkheim gave to his students with each lecture is not available to his readers and that the absence of footnotes makes a further search of the author's sources impossible for many who are not students of special fields of history or literature. The style is brilliant and colorful.

DOROTHY MACKAY QUINN.

La Universidad de Paris durante los estudios de Francisco de Vitoria O. P. (1507-1522). By RICARDO G. VILLOSLADA. [Analecta Gregoriana.] (Rome, apud Aedes Universitatis Gregorianae, 1938, pp. xxvi, 468, 30 l.) The career of the Dominican Francisco de Vitoria is part of the story of Spain in the Golden Age. It is, however, a story of tendencies unlike those most characteristic of that splendid period of Spanish history, for it was Francisco who introduced a strict, though modified, Thomistic method and discipline into the Spanish universities. Villoslada has limited his work to a study of those forces which helped to mold Francisco's mind, to condition his approach to intellectual problems, and to determine his methods of study and teaching. He describes with much detail the atmosphere in which this Spanish Dominican lived and the influences under which he studied. Especially interesting are Villoslada's accounts of the position accorded Aquinas's *Summa* and of "la práctica del dictado en las aulas". Considerable space is given to a discussion of the humanism prevalent in Paris during Francisco's stay there. The author naturally has considerable sympathy for this humanism of the sixteenth century, a sympathy which even medievalists can comprehend; nevertheless they will not receive with favor his reference (p. 77) to the renaissance of the twelfth century as "tímido y no muy vital". On page 82, note 26, the author does, however, show more consideration for what he appears to have condemned a few pages earlier. In spite of its positive merits, the volume is unnecessarily long. Sections dealing with well-known fact and custom could have been curtailed to advantage. The bibliography, with its many references to manuscript as well as printed sources, is a useful addition to the references in D'Irsay's general survey. Though some works in English have been consulted, the omission of Rashdall is surprising. Volumes III and IV of the *Auctarium* to the Parisian chartulary should have been listed. There is an index for names, but unfortunately none for subjects.

GRAY C. BOYCE.

Pascal: The Life of Genius. By MORRIS BISHOP. (New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1936, pp. x, 398, \$3.50.) It would be difficult to imagine a task more skillfully done than Professor Bishop's delineation of the remarkable Frenchman whose life of less than forty years was a constant battle between an extraordinarily keen intellect and an emotional religiosity often verging on sheer superstition. For Blaise Pascal was a curiously divided personality, a perfect example of what the psychoanalyst calls the "schizoid". Early enamored of science, he made lasting contributions to physics and mathematics. But a craving as intense as St. Augustine's for religious peace would not let him rest content with the intellectual satisfaction and the social recognition of his scientific achievements. His burning thirst for God led him to belittle and despise the "vanity" of his intellect, while all the time he was haunted by the temptation to return to his

mathematical studies. So he lived in perpetual mental and spiritual torment intensified, if not wholly induced, by the physical affliction (intestinal tuberculosis) which from the age of eighteen gave him "not a single year free from suffering". Pascal's "conversion" in the year 1654 marked the turning point in his life. He embraced with characteristic fervor the cause of Jansenism, "the fundamentalist Catholicism" of the seventeenth century. In the *Lettres provinciales* he not only furnished his fellow believers with their most effective weapons of controversy but gave the French language a form and style which Voltaire called perfection. Pascal's *Pensées* have been a storehouse of striking aphorisms and penetrating moral insights rejoicing the lover of the perfect wedding of word and thought from Pascal's day to ours. Professor Bishop is concerned to let Pascal explain himself; but one gathers from his pages that he feels that the true Pascal is the thinker and not the devotee. He was "a genius attempting sainthood". The genius was indigenous, inescapable, real; the sainthood was assiduously cultivated, exotic, never without a touch of feverish artificiality.

DAVID S. MUZZEY.

Louis XIV. By HILAIRE BELLOC. (New York, Harper, 1938, pp. xii, 393, \$3.75.)

Members of the historical gild will doubtless find this an exasperating book; laymen not possessing a fairly detailed acquaintance with the Great Age will be flattered by the deference accorded their prejudices in historical interpretation. Belloc intends the work not as a biography of Louis XIV but as a "study of the principle of Monarchy", now returning (1938), in the form of despotism or dictatorship, after a long eclipse by that alternative form of rule—class government or aristocracy. His main theme, presented topically, traces the process by which the rising money power destroys the effectiveness of monarchy, the ancient guardian of the people against the greed and ruthlessness of plutocracy. Historians, economists, and political scientists will be affronted by the author's numerous assumptions and generalizations, by the freedom with which he indulges his bias, and by the absence of substantiating evidence. Laymen may be misled. In spite of these defects, however, Belloc's indifference to the conventional, his vigorous demolition of old clichés and his resourceful substitution of new ones, and his provocative if sometimes untenable comparisons between the twentieth century and the seventeenth will compel admiration—and possibly some revision of existing views. We may perhaps all agree that Louis XIV presented "the most perfect example of Monarchy in all its advantages and disadvantages".

LAURENCE B. PACKARD.

The Journal of Jean Cavelier: The Account of a Survivor of La Salle's Texas Expedition, 1684-1688. Translated and annotated by JEAN DELANGLEZ. (Chicago, Institute of Jesuit History, 1938, pp. 179, \$2.50.) The Institute of Jesuit History at Loyola University, Chicago, is undertaking, under the leadership of Father Delanglez, to evaluate and republish the seventeenth century sources for the life and explorations of La Salle. Among these is the journal of the explorer's brother, Jean Cavelier, on the last years of La Salle's life and his fateful death in the wilderness of Texas. This journal was published in Margry and translated by Shea, but a newly discovered copy in the Spanish archives, sent there by no less a person than Baron Lahontan, is more complete and deserves the fine presentation given in this book, with the French text and the English translation on opposite pages. With the journal was a curious map of the Mississippi valley, also reproduced in this edition. The erudite editor contributes an introduction discussing the credit to be assigned to this journal of Cavelier, the circumstances of its writing, and the propaganda intended. He concludes from very careful

study that Cavalier was also the author of the untrustworthy pseudo-Tonty narrative and probably of parts of Le Clercq's *Premier établissement de la foi dans la Nouvelle France*. The journal of Henri Joutel emerges from this study as the only reliable source for the last journey of La Salle and for the incidents of his assassination. The editor also presents Cavalier's character as it appeared to his contemporaries as well as to moderns—that of a grasping, avaricious man of bad faith. As is well known, he concealed his brother's murder to obtain his property and by this deceit was responsible in large measure for the loss of the colonists La Salle had left on the shores of Texas. An excellent bibliography and a discussion of contemporary maps complete a volume that no student of the French discovery of the Mississippi valley can afford to ignore.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG.

The Physiocratic Doctrine of Judicial Control. By MARIO EINAUDI. With an Introduction by Charles Howard McIlwain. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1938, pp. x, 96, \$1.50.) In his foreword Mr. McIlwain stresses the neglect accorded the political, as opposed to the economic, ideas of the physiocrats. Mr. Einaudi in this brief study attempts to redress the balance, suggesting withal that their economic views also have lacked adequate analysis. The physiocrats, in full sympathy with their times and in keeping with their own economic doctrines, sought a government controlled by natural law, but one and all, they experienced difficulty in formulating coercive machinery. A natural order, the necessary interdependence between positive and natural law, and the power of judges to estimate positive laws in the light of eternal principles summed up physiocratic suggestions. If, however, judicial control was to be established, it must be freed from the danger of being overruled. Some physiocrats looked to the *parlements*, but for centuries the king's edicts had been registered through *lits de justice*; moreover, the Paris *parlement* had nullified the physiocratic economic platform as it found expression in Turgot's reforms. To others a written constitution appeared the answer. In general, physiocratic constitutionalism lagged behind political theory, and some of the leaders seemingly despaired of finding a way out. Nevertheless, the physiocrats were agitating a problem of politics which, regardless of terminology, has persisted from the first political societies to the present. At times Mr. Einaudi has been a little confusing. His statements that Quesnay "seemed to ignore" the problem (p. 12) and that the physiocrats erected no "defenseless bulwark" (p. 5) and his remarks on Mirabeau's vagueness (p. 14) do not square with the treatment of Quesnay (pp. 29-32), the whole of chapter vi on the "ways and limits of judicial control", and Mirabeau's "clearer vision" and "best explanation" (pp. 23, 28). Nevertheless, his pertinent discussion has both increased our knowledge and suggested further explorations in historical political theory.

CHARLES F. MULLETT.

The Spirit of Voltaire. By NORMAN L. TORREY. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. xiii, 314, \$3.00.) The general public, no less than students of Voltaire, will welcome this book, which consists of essays on various aspects of the life, character, and ideas of the great *philosophe*. Professor Torrey has a masterly knowledge of his material, has digested it thoroughly, and presents his views with a lucidity that the subject so well merits. Consistent, even passionate, humanism is the key to Voltaire's "inner nature". It is shown in his hatred of theology, in his love of life, and in his unchanging conviction that only through intelligence, knowledge, and reason can the world be made better. Even Voltaire's deism was essentially humanistic. The author's admiration for

Voltaire, while expressed with reserve, is nevertheless wholehearted. And Voltaire emerges from these pages the hero in the war for intellectual liberation that was waged in eighteenth century France. Voltaire lived dangerously, seizing any weapon at hand and resorting to any stratagem in his conflicts with his many powerful foes. "Protective lying" was his way of circumventing the censorship. Professor Torrey defends Voltaire against the charges of superficiality and cynicism that have so often been made from his day to our own. His "superficiality", argues the author, was more apparent than real; it comes from the brightness of his style rather than from a lack of knowledge. Voltaire's library, now in Leningrad, which the author has studied, bears witness "to the seriousness with which he undertook his critical works". And Voltaire's cynicism was "a literary device, not a deep-seated conviction". He was ever ready to throw himself into the fight against injustice and was constantly urging his fellow *philosophes* to do likewise. Professor Torrey's book is to be welcomed as an addition to the small list of scholarly works on Voltaire available in English.

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO.

Necker, 1732-1804. By EDOUARD CHAPUISAT. [Institut international d'histoire de la Révolution française, Société de l'histoire de la Révolution française.] (Paris, Sirey, 1938, pp. 331, 35 fr.) History has dealt strangely with Jacques Necker. It has characterized him as a stuffed shirt, as a financial genius, and as a "commissary" of the French Revolution. That such divergent opinions should have prevailed in scholarly circles needs explanation—an explanation that is provided by this book. According to the author, Necker was called to the administration of French finances at a moment when nothing short of magic could have brought order out of chaos. But Necker was not a magician. He was only a highly successful banker who had little actual authority at court and no natural gifts for diplomacy and compromise. Handicapped as he was by his scruples, his Protestantism, and his foreign citizenship, and yet desiring to effect much needed reforms, Necker "pleased no one by trying to please all". The last word on Necker is not, however, to be found in the work of Chapuisat. Here there is practically nothing concerning the Genevan's activity as a banker or as a merchant, nor is there a careful account of his role as director of the financial affairs of France. In fact, this volume seems to be the story of Necker as told by contemporary gossips. Fortunately, there are illuminating pages concerning the banker's economic views, drawn from the work of Vacher de Lapouge; there are touching side lights upon Madame Necker and their daughter, the future Baroness de Staël; and there is some account of other of Necker's writings than the apologetic *Administration*. At all events, this volume comes as a considerable relief after the outpourings of the Abbé Lavaquery in his *Necker, fourrier de la Révolution*.

J.-P. Marat, "*Voel et l'ami du peuple*". By GASTON-MARTIN. (Paris, Rieder, 1938, pp. 260, 15 fr.)

Madame de Staël d'après ses portraits. By YVONNE BEZARD. (Paris, Victor Attinger, 1938, pp. 40, 12 fr.) "This iconographic study is accompanied by eleven illustrations . . . two among them of pictures which have never before been reproduced".

Lafayette. By W. E. WOODWARD. (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1938, pp. xii, 472, \$3.50) This book is a good example of the effect of the Industrial Revolution on the publishing business. Before the days of quantity production and high pressure sales methods, a book, to be a success, had to have, besides

the reputation of the author and the enterprise of the publisher, a certain degree of merit. Merit was measured by timeliness, good style, interesting presentation, scholarliness, and other factors. This book bids fair to be a success—at least it has been conspicuously advertised by the publishers and has received several “puffs” in the popular book review magazines (even from reviewers who ought to have known better). It is, however, almost devoid of merit. The style, which occasionally reaches the heights of good prose, too often descends to the level of cheap journalese. The scholarship is lamentable, being characterized by inaccuracy, irrelevance, and a haphazard sampling of sources. Since there has appeared in the last decade an average of nearly one biography of Lafayette a year (most of them better than this one), it lacks timeliness; and while it gives a fairly interesting presentation of Lafayette’s character, it does so at the expense of subtlety and shading.

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK.

Maximilien Robespierre: Nationalist Dictator. By JAMES MICHAEL EAGAN. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. 242, \$2.75.) Dr. Eagan has performed a distinct service in drawing attention to the importance of national patriotism in the life and work of Robespierre. The immaculate dictator does not fit into any pattern, even the nationalist one that Dr. Eagan weaves. And yet the nationalist pattern is probably better than most, and the vital significance of national patriotism in the Revolution has been overlooked far too often. The purpose of the volume is to present the “nationalist thought of Robespierre in its origins and development”. Robespierre’s career is traced only insofar as is necessary to depict his transition from the liberal humanitarian patriotism of ’89 to the fanatical dictatorial nationalism of ’93. Robespierre was an ardent patriot who went far because he believed everything he said. He extolled patriotism. He practiced it. When he was in power he tried to see that all Frenchmen fought with him for “what is dearest and most sacred, the nation”. As long as Dr. Eagan sticks to his chief purpose he is successful. But his comparisons of Robespierre with the present dictatorships are not so fortunate. At times he is guilty of anachronisms which vitiate his case. Modern dictators, it is true, resemble Robespierre in “their use of patriotic appeals and their desire to unite the nation”, but comparisons may be carried too far. More power and influence are attributed to Robespierre than the evidence seems to warrant. Dr. Eagan’s thought, like Robespierre’s, is not always logically and felicitously put. Nevertheless his study, the result of painstaking scholarly effort, does contribute to an understanding of one nationalist dictator and the forces which brought about his rise.

BOYD C. SHAFER.

Revellière-lépeaux, Citizen Director, 1753-1824. By GEORGIA ROBISON. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. 307, \$3.50.) Students in general know little more about Revellière-lépeaux than that he was one of the five Directors and had something to do with a passing religious phenomenon called Theophilanthropy. Miss Robison has pulled him forth from the limbo of forgotten revolutionary players, somewhat earnestly and with studied determination not to allow any of his thoughts or deeds to pass unrecorded. Her account of his life owes much to Revellière-lépeaux’s own memoirs. The years from 1795 to 1799 were his moment in history. He concerned himself with protecting republican learning and the arts and threw his support to Bonaparte’s generous decision to safeguard in Paris itself the art treasures which the unclean hands of nonrevolutionary Italian princes were unworthy of holding. His diplomatic efforts were unfortunate but luckily of no consequence. He achieved renown, though not praise, for his support of Theophilanthropy; and for the first and

only time in his life he exercised political influence in the seamy intrigues which culminated in the coup of Prairial. In the spring of 1799 his political career ended with his forced resignation from the Directory. All this the author tells us in her solid work of scholarly erudition, which incorporates the best printed researches and the fine combings of public and private archives. Despite her pronounced sense of organization, the narrative occasionally lags from the weight of its details. Her own text bears out her general conclusion concerning Revellière-Lépeaux's political incompetence and naïvete, but her final verdict that he may be remembered for his preoccupation with problems of developing and adapting techniques of social control seems scarcely borne out by the evidence. It seems as likely that he will continue to be remembered, if at all, as one of the more pompous of the rhetoricians who blew clouds of words on the revolutionary stage.

LEO GERSHOY.

Louis-Henri-Joseph de Bourbon, le dernier Condé. By ÉMILE LESUEUR. (Paris, Alcan, 1937, pp. 302, 18 fr.)

Chateaubriand, Poet, Statesman, Lover. By ANDRÉ MAUROIS. Translated from the French by Vera Fraser. (New York, Harper, 1938, pp. x, 352, \$3.50.) This biography is not exactly what one would expect from its author; it is careful, accurate, and dull: a detailed account of the events of Chateaubriand's private life and public career with plenty of emphasis on the ladies he knew. If one would realize Chateaubriand's significance in the history of French and of European civilization, he will hardly find it here. There is more of this in a few pages of Sainte-Beuve, George Brandes, Faguet, Lemaitre, or Babbitt.

FREDERICK B. ARTZ.

Documents diplomatiques français, 1871-1914. Série I (1871-1900), tome VI², 4 mars, 1885-29 décembre, 1887. [Ministère des Affaires étrangères.] (Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1938, pp. xiii, 162, 30 fr.) To a considerable extent these seventy-one documents fill, as the editors claim, the *lacunae* in Volume VI¹. Four (nos. 56, 58, 61, 71) reveal the papacy's desire, doubtless because of Bismarck's failure to pay for its aid during the reichstag elections with support in the Roman Question, for an entente with France. In the resignation of Robilant, foreign minister in the Depretis cabinet, following the Italian defeat near Massawa by the Abyssinians, the French ambassador seems to have had some influence (no. 35). Both Waddington and Flourens believed fantastic reports that Herbert Bismarck, during his visit in August, 1887, had asked England to join Germany and Italy in a preventive war with France; Salisbury, however, assured France of England's independence of the Triple Alliance (nos. 62, 63, 68). Newest and perhaps most valuable are the dozen documents relating to Belgium's neutrality and to the strengthening of her fortifications in the Meuse valley. On the latter question the French were at first cool, for they feared that strong forts there would aid a German invasion unless Belgium was able and determined to defend her neutrality (no. 3). In fact, Boulanger suspected that the initiative had come from Germany (no. 9). On February 20, 1887, Prince de Chimay, the foreign minister, gave France a formal assurance that Belgium would resist a violation of her neutrality to the end (no. 25); there was even a rumor that England had promised to send troops to Antwerp (no. 42). In return, the listing of bonds of the Congo Free State on the Paris Bourse was asked for and later granted (nos. 25, 34), but France also tried, with what success is not clear, to secure some orders for her munition companies (no. 38). Most disappointing is the inclusion of only one dispatch from Boulanger (no. 9).

E. MALCOLM CARROLL.

The Life of Jules Cambon. By GENEVIÈVE TABOIS. Translated from the French by C. F. Atkinson. (London, Jonathan Cape, 1938, pp. 399, 15s.) This life of the famous French diplomat by a near relative is an interesting account, presenting a fair picture of the man and his work. It shows M. Cambon in his early environment and stresses his work as governor general of Algeria, where he acquired the understanding of the French colonial problem in North Africa which stood him in good stead later in his fight for Morocco. Throughout, the author is at pains to show her hero in the best possible light. The part he played at Berlin is rightly emphasized, and the picture of his difficulties with his own government during the 1911 negotiations over Morocco is well done. M. Cambon seems to have had a high regard for Kiderlen-Waechter, though the biographer gives the impression that Cambon not only got the best bargain possible but rather overreached his German adversary. In the account of the hectic days preceding the Great War one wonders whether the author is describing M. Cambon's work or trying to prove Germany's sole responsibility for the conflict. Belgium's pro-French attitude is rather naïvely taken for granted and stressed. In M. Cambon's later work at the end of the war and at the Peace Conference he is again pictured as an almost perfect hero, albeit a very nationalistic Frenchman. The author's use of source material seems designed to bolster up opinions already formed. The bibliography includes governmental documentary material, but the text shows little familiarity with it. In fact the account seems a trifle thin and leaves the reviewer with the feeling that there is still room for a more thorough study. Nevertheless the author has an easy and very readable style, and the book holds one's interest.

OSWALD HENRY WEDEL.

Élie Halévy, 6 septembre, 1870-21 août, 1937. (Paris, École libre des sciences politiques, n.d., pp. 93.) A collection of some of the articles on Halévy and his work which appeared in France and England soon after his death.

Pour une politique d'empire: Doctrine et action. By EUGÈNE GUERNIER. (Paris, Alcan, 1938, pp. 208, 30 fr.)

La France dans le monde. By PIERRE CLERGET and MARCEL CLERGET. [Collection de documents et de témoignages pour servir à l'histoire de notre temps.] (Paris, Payot, 1938, pp. 276, 32 fr.) The first of these books is made up largely of quotations from newspapers and other articles of variable age and quality. European France is said to be "indifferent to the colonial idea" (p. 32). An oratorical conclusion with liberal quotations from Kipling's "The White Man's Burden" goes very well with the theme that French business and finance should be grooved more in colonial directions; but the question of how this is to be accomplished in a liberal system, where business presumably calculates probable returns and risks, is left unanswered. The authors of the second work have not had enough space, or have not used what they had to best advantage, to make the most of the excellent idea of treating European and oversea France together, by chapters. Within the chapters the materials are mainly separated, so that the reader will not get an integrated picture of economic, social, and political France as a nucleus of empire. Even the best chapter (that on economic life, pp. 184-272) is illuminating largely for its "economic geography" point of view, not for any rigorous analysis of the decline of private business and the rise of public expenditures. It is a good sketch, nevertheless, with graphs portraying the outstanding features of the decline. As an introduction to French colonization this book is not bad, but much of it will be merely scanned by the reader who already has a moderate familiarity with the subject. A short con-

clusion on the "spiritual radiation" of France is apparently designed to lighten the pessimism of the preceding one on French and French-imperial economy.

M. M. KNIGHT.

Erflaters van onze Beschaving: Nederlandse Gestalten uit zes Eeuwen. By JAN and ANNIE ROMEIN. Volume I, 14e-16e Eeuw; Volume II, 17e Eeuw. (Amsterdam, N. V. Em. Querido, 1938, pp. 283; 323, 3.25 fl. each.) These volumes form a kind of biographical supplement to the authors' history of Netherland culture, which appeared in 1934 under the title *De Lage Landen bij de Zee* (The Low Countries by the Sea). The personal element had been crowded out of that story by the wealth of other material that had to be discussed. The authors, convinced Marxists though they are, feel that in the conflict of forces by which history is made the *dramatis personae* deserve recognition as products and molders of their age. Volume I contains the biographies of Filips van Leiden, Geert Groote, Jeroen Bosch, Erasmus, William of Orange, Filips van Marnix, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, and Simon Stevin. William of Orange was not born in the territory now comprising the kingdom of the Netherlands but was a German by birth and descent. Marnix and Stevin came from the southern Netherlands, now called Belgium, but both were builders, with the Prince of Orange, of the Dutch Republic. Volume II deals with Sweelinck, the composer and forerunner of Bach, Hugo Grotius, Coen, who laid the foundations of Holland's colonial empire in the Far East, De Geer, merchant prince, Vondel the poet, Rembrandt the painter, De Ruyter, the admiral, Johan de Wit, the statesman, Christian Huygens, the scientist, and Spinoza, the philosopher. Mr. and Mrs. Romein write well and entertainingly. No reader will regret the few hours he spent in these first two rooms of their national portrait gallery. We look forward in pleasant anticipation to the opening of the other two.

A. J. BARNOUW.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

Det norske folks Liv og Historie i vår egen Tid. By WILHELM KEILHAU. (Oslo, H. Aschehoug, 1938, pp. 500, 8 kr.) Five Norwegian scholars collaborated on the ten-volume *Det norske folks Liv og Historie gjennom Tidene*, which was completed in 1935 (several volumes were here reviewed, XXVII, 154). Keilhau did the last three volumes, but he made no effort to carry the story beyond 1920 and, in fact, the treatment was a summary one after 1905. Now he has issued what is in effect a supplementary volume, uniform in format and design with the earlier set and covering the period from 1905 to the present. The difficulties that attend the writing of the history of "our own time" remain evident. Several topics are not carried beyond the twenties. The reference to what the author considers America's incorrigibly subjective attitude toward the Nansen mission is somewhat oblique (p. 313). From one who has for years been centrally placed in both circles, it is disappointing to have no paragraphs on Norway's Peace Union or on the Storting's Nobel Committee and the Norwegian Nobel Institute. However, any particular shortcomings of the book are far outweighed by its general virtues. Some of these, such as the broad interpretation of the material included, from problems of demography to

the fields of art and of sport, and the high standard of excellence in popularizing historical material, it shares with the series as a whole. But others are Professor Keilhau's own—a discerning psychological analysis of significant personalities, a skillful portrayal of social forces at work in the intimacies of everyday living, and a lively crackling style. This volume will remain for some time to come the standard treatise on modern Norway's first generation of independence.

Lychnos: Lärdomshistoriska Samfundets Årsbok. 1938. Annual of the Swedish History of Science Society. (Uppsala and Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell, 1938, pp. xii, 654, 12 kr.) Some of the articles in this annual—most of them naturally appeal to the specialist in the history of science—have a wider appeal, such as the discussions on early Dutch and French newspapers, the "Recherche de la vérité par la lumière naturelle" by Descartes, the introduction to Sweden's basic law of 1734, and the Bengt Bergius Collection of Correspondence. The long book review section—nearly two hundred pages—is devoted to Western culture in general and discusses many works that lie beyond the strict confines of the history of science.

Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala. 1934-1938. Volume XXIX. (Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksell; Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1938, pp. 28, 190, 64, 66, xxiv, 91, 40, 48, 20 kr.) In this volume the monographs of interest to the historian are those on the Indian travels of Apollonius of Tyana, the treatise on astronomy by the sixteenth century Uppsala professor, Olof Luth, and the analysis of the Viminacium find of coins on the lower Danube, uncovered early in this century.

Fornvännan: Meddelanden från K. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien. 1938. Edited by SIGURD CURMAN. Volume XXXIII. (Stockholm, Generalstabens Litografiska Anstalt, 1938, pp. 380.) Articles in this issue of interest to historians as well as archaeologists are those on the easterly placement of the direction North among the early Scandinavians, the Hanseatic art of the Baltic region, and a leading article by the editor on the concerted measures being taken to preserve the material remains of Swedish history.

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

E. N. Anderson

Entwicklungsgeschichte des deutschen Heerwesens. Volume II¹, *Das Heerwesen in der Zeit des freien Söldnertums: Landsknechtszeit*. Volume III¹, *Das Heerwesen in der Zeit des Dreissigjährigen Krieges: Das Söldnertum*. By EUGEN VON FRAUENHOLZ. (Munich, C. H. Beck, 1937; 1938, pp. x, 323; viii, 437, 16 M.; 18 M.) These two volumes represent further installments of Professor Frauenholz's history of the evolution of the German army, the previous volumes of which were reviewed in this journal (XLI, 122; XLIII, 188). In the case of both volumes the narrative embraces scarcely more than one third of the entire book, the remainder being given over to documents. Is the puzzled reviewer to regard these documents as supporting the text, or is he to regard the text as a mere introduction to the documents? If the former, he cannot lay these volumes aside without a sense of profound disappointment. The narrative, to be sure, is no mere propagandistic or patriotic military history; the method of approach is thoroughly modern and scholarly, and the judgment of the author is critical and sound throughout. But anyone familiar with the works of Delbrueck, Jaehns, Meynert, and Heischmann (*Die Anfaenge des stehenden Heeres in Oesterreich*, Vienna, 1925, a book which appears to be unknown to the author) will find little that is novel. The documents, which the student must recognize as the most valuable feature of the entire publication, are numerous, intelligently selected, and important: contemporary descriptions of important battles, military commissions, contracts between emperor and officers, articles of war, infantry and cavalry tactics, etc. Many of these have never been published before or were generally inaccessible. Historians will be grateful to the author for publishing the contemporary account of the Czech Ziska's system of military organization in 1423, the complete documents setting forth the martial law of the emperor, Gustavus Adolphus, Poland, Holland, and Bavaria. But the gems of the entire collection are two hitherto unpublished documents which describe the military tactics of Maurice of Orange and their influence on Gustavus Adolphus.

WALTER L. DORN.

Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern. Volume XXXIV, no. 1. (Berne, Gustav Grunau, 1937, pp. xxxi, 224.) This volume contains Dr. Fritz Bürki's monograph entitled "Berns Wirtschaftslage im Dreissigjährigen Krieg". The work is more than an economic study, for monetary regulations, prices, and wages in Berne during the first half of the seventeenth century have been

carefully analyzed in order to illustrate the growth of the centralized state. The interference of the government was necessitated by two factors: a rapidly increasing population and the repercussions of the war. A city patriciate therefore imposed ever stricter economic regulations for the benefit of the whole population. Mistakes were made, particularly in monetary regulation. A careless disregard of the feelings of a peasantry harking back to a mythical age of liberty led to revolt in 1653. But at least the patriciate did not attempt to imitate the all-powerful government then in formation in contemporary France. For Berne this was a period of transition leading to a model state in the eighteenth century.

E. A. BELLER.

Lettres de Sophie de La Roche à C.-M. Wieland, précédées d'une étude sur Sophie de La Roche. By VICTOR MICHEL. [Annales de l'Est, publiées par la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Nancy.] (Nancy, Berger-Levrault, 1938, pp. xlix, 109.) Seventy-five hitherto unpublished letters running from 1759 to 1784 are printed here. Their author, Sophie de La Roche, was a minor German writer to some extent in touch with important people and events. She was once the fiancée of Wieland, is thought to have influenced Goethe, started an early and short-lived women's magazine, and had a son who went with Lafayette to America. These letters to Wieland are an expression of *Sturm und Drang*. The very language, alternating between German and fluent but unschooled French, shows the spiritual uncertainty of the time. She was an escapist, reading Richardson, Young, and Wieland's translation of "Schaquespear", given to introspection and sentimentality, losing herself in the moral attitudes of her own literary characters. She was humanitarian and concerned about the poor and at times nationalistic in the German manner, declaring in protest against foreign influence that the soul to become strong must become entirely German. It is noteworthy, in contrast with a similar French woman, Mme. Roland, that these humanitarian and nationalist feelings remained completely nonpolitical. The present letters are so filled with small talk and general sentiments that their utility as a historical source is greatly limited. The editor's introduction, however, is illuminating and valuable.

R. R. PALMER.

The German Civil Service Act. By JAMES K. POLLOCK and ALFRED V. BOERNER, JR. (Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1938, pp. 54, \$1.75.)

Nazi Germany: Its Women and Family Life. By CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1938, pp. xiii, 353, \$3.00.) A sociological study based on a year's research in Germany.

Zeitschrift für Politik. Volume XXIX, nos. 1-2. (Berlin, Carl Heymann, pp. 155.)

This volume is devoted to the colonial question and includes such articles as the following: Heinrich Schnee, "Leistungen und Ziele der deutschen Kolonialverwaltung"; Dr. Zeitschel, "Die Geschichte der deutschen Kolonien bis zum Kriegeausbruch"; M. E. Pasemann, "Deutsche Kolonialpioniere—ihr Lebensbild: Carl Peters, Adolf Lüderitz, Hermann Wissmann, Gustav Nachtigal".

Schmollers Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft. Volume LXII, numbers 4-6. (Berlin, Duncker and Humblot, 1938.) This double number issued in honor of the hundredth anniversary of Schmoller's birth is devoted to articles on his intellectual position. They are by German professors in the fields of history, economics, sociology, and philosophy, covering subjects like the following: Leopold von Wiese, "Aristokratie und Demokratie bei

Gustav von Schmoller"; August Skalweit, "Gustav von Schmoller und der Merkantilismus"; Fritz Hartung, "Gustav von Schmoller und die preussische Geschichtsschreibung".

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

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- Carteggi di Vincenzo Gioberti.* Edited by LUIGI MADARO. Volume VI, *Lettere di illustri stranieri a Vincenzo Gioberti.* (Rome, Regio Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, 1938, pp. xv, 185, 15 l.)
- Discorsi parlamentari.* By C. BENSO DI CAVOUR. Volume VI, 1852-1853. Edited by LUIGI RUSSO. ["Documenti di Storia Italiana."] (Florence, "La Nuova Italia", 1937, pp. 648, 54 l.) This is the sixth volume of what will doubtless be the definitive edition of Cavour's parliamentary speeches. During the period covered by the present volume Cavour served as deputy, as minister of navy, agriculture, commerce and finance, and as president of the council of ministers and minister of finance in what came to be known as the Great Ministry.

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RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya v epokhu imperializma: Dokumenty iz arkhivov tzarskovo i vremennoy pravitel'stv, 1878-1917. Seriya vtoraya, 1900-13 [international relations in the epoch of imperialism: documents from the archives of the imperial and provisional governments. Series 2, 1900-13]. Volume XVIII, parts 1-2, edited by A. S. YERUSALIMSKI; Volume XIX, part 2, edited by L. A. TELESHEVA. (Leningrad, Gos. izdat. polit. literatury, 1938, pp. 470; 382; 551, each part 12 r.) Up to the present the Soviet Commission for the Publication of the Documents of the Epoch of Imperialism has issued ten volumes (in thirteen books) of the third, the so-called war series. They cover the period of January 14, 1914, to April 13, 1916. Volumes containing the rest of the material, through November 7, 1917, will follow. Meanwhile, the commission has started issuing the second, the prewar series, which will cover the years 1900-13 in twenty-four

volumes. Volume XVIII, parts 1 and 2, and Volume XIX, part 2, are the first ones to be published. These three parts contain papers dated May 1 to October 31, 1911, and January 2 to April 30, 1912 (all dates are Old Style). The text consists chiefly of letters and dispatches exchanged by the Russian foreign office with the diplomatic representatives of the empire in various countries and with other ministries. Each volume is provided with an index of names and a separate register of organizations and individuals that acted as correspondents. A third index lists the subjects of the correspondence by country.

Dokumenty velikoi proletarskoi revolyutsii [documents of the great proletarian revolution]. Volume I. Compiled by E. N. GORODETZKI and I. M. RAZGON. (Moscow, Ogiz, 1938, pp. 372, 7 r.) This work forms part of the series, "Materials and documents for the study of the history of the great proletarian revolution and the civil war", issued by the state publishing house, and it contains the hitherto unpublished minutes and correspondence of the Military-Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet. In all, 540 papers dated October 9-December 5, 1917, are printed. There are explanatory notes, a list of sources, chiefly the Central Archives of the October Revolution, and indexes of names and subjects.

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FAR EASTERN HISTORY

C. H. Peake

Bulletin of Far Eastern Bibliography. Edited by EARL H. PRITCHARD. Vol. III. (Washington, Committees on Far Eastern Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies, 1938, pp. 163, mimeographed.) This bulletin, now in its fourth

year of publication, is the most comprehensive and useful bibliography of current articles and books relating to Eastern Asia that is available. All subjects and historical periods are covered. Over 3000 items are listed each year. Bound volumes of past years, in so far as they are available, sell for \$2.50 each, while the current subscription price is \$2.00 a year.

Chinese Traditional Historiography. By CHARLES S. GARDNER. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1938, pp. xi, 120, \$1.25.) In this pioneer work Professor Gardner has attempted "to delineate . . . those characteristics which distinguish sharply the traditional forms of Chinese history from most historical composition in western lands" (p. 3). His compact essay is documented by full and precise footnotes more extensive than the text itself. These notes refer to writings throughout the whole range of Chinese historical literature and to the research of the best European sinologists, upon whose work "the present essay is largely based" (p. x). Almost half the book is devoted to an excellent chapter on "Textual Criticism". Here the Chinese historians were at their best. The authentication, establishment, and meaning of texts "has absorbed much of the attention of the best Chinese scholars from the second century before Christ to our own day" (p. 18). Other chapters deal with "Motivation", "Historical Criticism" (a part which needs much further elaboration), "Style", and the differences between Chinese synthesis and that of the West. In the chapter on "Synthesis" some exception may be taken to an emphasis on the Chinese lack of attention to causation and intimate pictures of life. Ssu-ma Kuang and the authors of historical biographies give us more from these points of view than some of Dr. Gardner's statements would lead us to believe. Several other phases of Chinese historiography are admirably presented. The history of Chinese bibliographical records, the development of modern libraries, the manner of compilation of dynastic histories, the traditional Chinese scheme of classification for works on "history", special problems of chronology and biography, and (incidentally throughout the book) the translation of bibliographical terms peculiar to the Chinese—all these contribute to make of this work an invaluable handbook for students of sinology and Chinese history.

WOODBIDGE BINGHAM.

A Union List of Selected Western Books on China in American Libraries. Compiled by CHARLES S. GARDNER. Second edition, revised and enlarged. (Washington, Committee on Chinese Studies, American Council of Learned Societies, 1938, pp. xi, 111, 75 cents.)

Government in Republican China. By PAUL MYRON ANTHONY LINEBARGER. Foreword by Fritz Morstein Marx. (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1938, pp. xv, 203, \$1.50.) Instead of concerning himself with the structure of successive shadow governments based upon various blueprint constitutions since 1912, Professor Linebarger has turned his attention to the ideological, social, and economic foundations upon which government in China has rested and must continue to rest. The old scholastic empire, having aspects of universality, maintained a measure of peace, directed education, upheld the social proprieties, and was ornamental rather than an engine of power. It was a superstructure resting upon such foundations as the kinship group, the village republic, and the guilds, which together performed most of the functions which, in the West, have long since been delegated to the government. Treaties imposed upon the old Chinese government burdens which it was never designed to carry. At the same time the economic and cultural penetration of the West destroyed the ideological foundations upon which that government rested. What followed was not merely a political collapse

but the collapse of a civilization. In their efforts to rebuild the foundations of national strength and unity the Chinese have since toyed with revamped Confucianism, nationalism, Marxism, Christianity, and pro-Japanism. The author, already well known for his basic study of Kuomintang principles, considers Sun Yat-sen's program of political reform the soundest yet advanced as a solution of the problem of the political modernization in China. Part III is a careful analysis of political possibilities, the most promising being the government headed since 1927 by Chiang Kai-shek. The book is a distinct, if unorthodox, contribution to political literature dealing with modern China. Montesquieu distinguished between the form and the spirit of government. The Chinese have always considered the latter more important than the former, and Professor Linebarger has rendered the political scientist a service by calling attention to the fact.

ROBERT T. POLLARD.

Tokugawa Japan. Volume I, *Introduction, Resources and Population, Communications and Trade*. Edited by NEIL SKENE SMITH. [Materials on Japanese Social and Economic History.] (London, P. S. King, 1937, pp. xvi, 176, 5s.) Excellent judgment has been shown, on the whole, both in the selection of the materials to be translated and in the items to be presented in this first of a series of volumes—drawn chiefly from Japanese sources—on the social and economic history of pre-Restoration Japan. It is hoped that publication of the further materials promised on agriculture, manufacturing, social classes, money, etc., will not be delayed. Population, communications, and trade occupy most of this first volume, which contains also sixty-four illuminating illustrations, done by Tokugawa artists, portraying various aspects of life in feudal Japan. The editor should be encouraged in his plan to publish these pictures, with others, in a separate volume along with detailed explanations. One fold-in map is included, but little can be said in its favor. There is a list of the authors whose works have been used and convenient tables, but no index. More complete annotation or the use of local source materials or both might have rectified some misleading details. It is stated, for example, that "On the Tokaido, there were 100 men and 100 horses at each station". While this was the general pattern, there were many exceptions. A more precise dating of the facts presented would have been of value, as conditions naturally changed during the long Tokugawa era. These, however, are but details of secondary importance. A great deal of credit is due Professor Neil Skene Smith for undertaking so comprehensive and valuable a task and for carrying it through with such unusual success. This same work was published in 1937 in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Second Series, Volume XIV, pages 1-176.

ROBERT BURNETT HALL.

Japan in Transition. By EMIL LEDERER and EMY LEDERER-SEIDLER. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1938, pp. xi, 260, \$3.00.) The distinctive merit of this volume lies in its interpretation of Japanese life, culture, and current economic problems, not in its historical content. Only in the chapter on Japanese foreign policy is a chronological narrative attempted, and it adds little if anything to the many secondary accounts on which it has, of necessity, been based. Occasional errors of statement elsewhere do not detract seriously from the very stimulating interpretation of the Japanese "ethos", which constitutes the heart of the book. Deeply rooted in an island homeland, the Japanese nation, we are told, has been integrated by a fusion of religion, myth, and history, infused with loyalty and authority under Tokugawa feudalism, and given a peculiar intellectual cast by linguistic preoccupation with "the forty thousand symbols". The resulting "static" system of "unparalleled solidity" is threatened with collapse by "dy-

namic" influences accompanying the alien industrial system which Japan's desire to meet the West on an equal plane, economically and militarily, has forced her to adopt. This crisis, which is avowedly the central theme of *Japan in Transition*, can, perhaps, be solved only by the transformation of Japan "into a new Japan that will have nothing in common with the old except a name", for "the idea of synthesis between West and East can never become more than a utopian dream". No brief outline could reproduce the charm and insight of the Lederers' analysis. In a final and very able summary of Japan's grave economic problems the authors conclude on a pessimistic note. If this pessimism is intended as a prediction that Japan will be less successful in meeting future problems than, for example, the United States or France, the reviewer considers it misleading, not because he presumes to know a solution to Japan's difficulties but because he believes that more allowance must be made for our inability to predict the trends and needs of future society in a country with which we are, at best, but superficially acquainted.

CHARLES B. FAHS.

The Pageant of Japanese History. By MARION MAY DILTS. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1938, pp. xvi, 380, \$3.00.) This is a history of Japan for the general reader. The best thing about it is that the author has made an effort to treat evenly the various periods with which she has dealt, giving to each an equal amount of attention. In this her work compares very favorably with other popular histories of Japan, in most of which a few periods are treated of at length and others disposed of in a few paragraphs. In the chapters on the importation of Chinese culture she does full justice to the role of the Chinese immigrants, a factor usually neglected in popular histories of Japan. The chapters on the introduction of Western civilization are perhaps the best. The chief defects of the book come from a disposition on the part of the author to talk down to her readers, which at times leads her to write in a kind of bedtime story style. It is no doubt this attitude towards her readers which led her to omit all diacritical marks from the Japanese words in the book (e.g., Horyuji for Hôryûji), with the result that about half of these words that appear in the text are not Japanese. It is just as though one were to write a history of France, omitting all accents from the French words in order to avoid frightening the timid reader away. Students will not use this book, but it will no doubt afford informative and pleasant reading to many who merely want a general idea of Japanese history.

WILLIAM R. ACKER.

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UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

The Navy: A History, the Story of a Service in Action. By FLETCHER PRATT. (Garden City, Doubleday, Doran, 1938, pp. xvi, 496, \$4.00.) This book is quite different from those which academic historians have heretofore written about our navy. Mr. Pratt has presented his history in the form of an unbroken stream of tradition transmitted from hand to hand from the Revolution to the present day. Instead of an account of events and naval battles, the author has given us a series of interlocking biographies under picturesque headings. Based on a solid bibliographical background and provided with numerous notes and references, the volume presents a very readable inside history of the service in an entertaining and popular form. The book closes with an interesting study of the various disarmament conferences and a summary of our present naval service. Throughout there runs a vivid account of the daily life of the seaman, many of the most important events being seen through his eyes. The author has made extensive use of the records and files of the Navy Department; his excerpts from official documents are well chosen. He refers only once to Admiral de Grasse, and then not in connection with the Yorktown campaign. True, these naval operations concerned a French fleet, but it was the presence of this naval force which prevented the British from bringing relief to Lord Cornwallis and enabled Washington to carry his famous land campaign to a victorious close. The list of ships which appears at the end of the volume, while forming a valuable supplement, is unnecessarily complicated by the insertion of numerous foreign vessels, which, though captured in action, were never added to the service under the American flag. The index contains names of ships and men only, no mention being made of places.

ROBERT W. NEESER.

Historical Records and Studies. Edited by THOMAS F. MEEHAN. Volume XXIX.

(New York, United States Catholic Historical Society, 1938, pp. 136, \$3.00.)

This collection includes among other shorter items the following articles: "The Constitution and the Church" by Philip J. Furlong; "A Century of Catholicism in the Oregon Country" by Thomas F. O'Connor; "The First New England Nuns" by Gertrude M. Larkin; "American Catholic Universities" by Francis M. Crowley.

Peculiarities of the Presidents: Strange and Intimate Facts not found in History.

By DON SMITH. (Van Wert, privately printed, 1938, pp. 132, \$2.00.)

The author of this little volume says that he has spent nine years gathering the materials, has searched "many musty volumes", has written "countless letters", and has traveled "many thousands of miles" to talk with presidential relatives and other authorities. Squinting at the subtitle, the reviewer is tempted to remark that, while most of the items may be characterized as "intimate", a great many of them are not "strange", and a goodly number of them are to be found in history—that is, in books pertaining to the period or the person concerned. If, however, many of the facts recorded may not properly be classified as rarities, so many of them are in that category, and all of them are of such interest, that the book is bound to have a strong appeal for the museum type of mind and for that kindred type that likes its history well seasoned or cares mainly for the human interest story. The reviewer has good ground for this conclusion because he has tried it out on his young son, just entered high school. As a collection of "peculiarities" of the Presidents, the book may appropriately be characterized as an assemblage of footnotes to history. Indeed, with regard to much of its content, it would scarcely be amiss to call it a collection of historical exclamation points. Furthermore, peculiarity inheres in the arrangement of the materials; for the book is in good part arranged on the model of the conundrum column of a newspaper or magazine, the answers to be found on a succeeding page or in a succeeding issue. There are pictures of nearly all the Presidents from Washington to Benjamin Harrison.

Benjamin Franklin in Scotland and Ireland, 1759 and 1771. By J. BENNETT NOLAN.

(Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938, pp. 229, \$2.50.) This book will delight Franklin enthusiasts. The author follows his hero's progress through Scotland and Ireland with infectious pleasure and discourses at length on the men he met and the sights he saw. At times Mr. Nolan suffers a twinge of conscience at his own discursiveness. After dealing for three pages with a person whom Franklin may have seen in Edinburgh, he remarks (p. 67): "To be sure, Benjamin nowhere mentions him, but if we were restricted to the few sentences of original description which survive, the narrative of the Caledonian trips would be compressed into sparse paragraphs", and that is, perhaps, the best comment on the book. Its chief weakness is that it makes little attempt to estimate the influence of the important Scottish school of thinkers on Franklin's own political and social ideas. The following minor points may be noticed in an otherwise careful book. Chilbolton and Twyford (pp. 2, 6, and 127) are used as if they were identical. Shipley, who became vicar of Chilbolton in 1760, inherited Twyford in 1765. It is misleading to describe him as bishop of Llandaff and St. Asaph (p. 127). He was bishop of Llandaff for a few months only before he was transferred to St. Asaph in 1769. The undiluted praise bestowed on him might have been qualified by a reflection that he scarcely ever visited his diocese and that he bestowed seven lucrative benefices on his son, who, like himself,

was nonresident from them all and, indeed, rented one of his rectories to be used as a public house. "Gardey loo", the traditional cry in Edinburgh when slops are thrown out of the window, is surely not from *gardez l'eau* (p. 45), for that is what no one would wish to do, but from *prenez garde à l'eau*.

DAVID WILLIAMS.

Benjamin Franklin's Library (printed, 1936, as "*The First American Library*"): *A Short Account of the Library Company of Philadelphia, 1731-1931*. By AUSTIN K. GRAY. (New York, Macmillan, 1937, pp. xi, 80, \$2.00.)

Gallant John Barry, 1745-1803: The Story of a Naval Hero of Two Wars. By WILLIAM BELL CLARK. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xii, 530, \$3.50.) This biography refutes the claim of Barry's too ardent admirers that he was the "Father of the American Navy". But neither John Paul Jones nor any other naval leader, through priority of rank or glory of achievement, deserves such a distinction. As for Barry, his remarkable cruises in the *Lexington*, the *Raleigh*, and the *Alliance*, during which he captured many prizes and fought valorously against enemy men-of-war at heavy odds, placed him at the close of the Revolution, by both popular acclaim and official recognition, next to John Paul Jones, whose achievements, though more spectacular, were probably not more important than those of Barry. It was upon this excellent record that Washington on February 22, 1797, issued to Barry Commission No. 1 as captain in the new navy of the United States. In the undeclared war against France he proudly commanded a squadron led by the brand new frigate *United States* and thus became "A Naval Hero of Two Wars". After his death this significant tribute appeared in the Philadelphia *Aurora*: "America may boast that most of the officers she now possesses were reared under her gallant Barry" (p. 492). This valuable biography shows much painstaking research. It is not fictional in any respect. Those interested primarily in the romance of war will find many monotonous pages; but it truly pictures sea warfare under sail, with its long months of preparation and hardship and its brief infrequent thrilling battles. The style, though clear and straightforward, lacks distinction and is marred by such expressions as "nary", "suspicioned", and "enthused". Also, Barry's language in dialogue does not agree with the quoted picturesque spelling of his letters. But these are slight imperfections in an important addition to American naval biography.

CHARLES LEE LEWIS.

James Madison, Philosopher of the Constitution. By EDWARD McNALL BURNS. (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1938, pp. x, 212, \$2.50.) This book is the first to attempt a complete exposition and analysis of Madison's political philosophy and constitutional theory together with some discussion of the influence and importance of his views. It fills a real need and does so excellently. After a short biographical introduction, two chapters describe Madison's general theories of the state and of democracy, two more are concerned mainly with his interpretations of the Constitution, and a final one discusses the sources of his ideas and their significance. Since Madison never worked his ideas into a system they must be gathered from remarks spread through his many speeches and writings, and the author has made a very full and adequate collection. This method works well enough in the realm of political philosophy, for Madison's thought may be related to the general scheme of Locke and his followers. In constitutional theory, however, it is less satisfactory. One cannot make all the various pronouncements of Madison, written in the manifold vicissitudes of politics from 1787 to 1836, fit into a harmonious design. Mr. Burns fully realizes

this and probably does as well as anyone could within the scope of his book to solve the problem, yet sometimes it seems, especially in chapter v, that he does not properly distribute emphasis between the broad principles of constitutional construction to which Madison clung and other points of less importance which had a more temporary significance. This, however, is a fault which could only be remedied by sacrificing completeness or by writing a very full biography. Mr. Burns has admirably fulfilled his purpose, and his book should be of permanent value.

ABBOT SMITH.

Francis Scott Key: Life and Times. By EDWARD S. DELAPLAINE. (New York, Biography Press, 1937, pp. xiv, 506, \$5.00.) Though Francis Scott Key is remembered almost solely as the author of our national anthem, his life is chiefly interesting for its contacts with the social and political developments of his time. His boyhood at Terra Rubra, near Frederick, Maryland, and as a student at St. John's College, Annapolis, 1789-96, affords a lively picture of Maryland gentry in the post-Revolution period. He was later a prominent Washington lawyer, brother-in-law of Chief Justice Taney, follower and friend of Jackson and a go-between in the quarrels of Jackson's first cabinet, defender of Sam Houston in his trial before the House in 1832, U. S. District Attorney for the District of Columbia, 1833-41, and federal negotiator in the settlement of the Creek Indian Lands dispute of 1833. The opportunities for historical study thus offered are fully utilized for the first time by Key's present biographer. As a close student of Maryland history, a resident of Frederick, and an incorporator of the Taney Home there with its Key Museum, Judge Delaplaine (he was appointed to the Maryland Circuit bench last year) has made excellent use of family manuscripts, court records, contemporary newspapers, and other valuable source material, and has written what must be regarded as a definitive biography. Without overrating Key's slender poetical gifts, he has told in new detail the dramatic story of the composition of his famous song. If the author leans toward diffuseness, it is chiefly in his extended recapitulations of Key's occasional speeches. Though an upright lawyer of pleasing personality, Key was not markedly original, and in an age of prolix pleaders he was, as his biographer admits, "one of the most prolix".

ALLAN WESTCOTT.

My Century: The Story of Andreas Franz Hofer. By AMALIE HOFER JEROME. (Boston, Bruce Humphries, 1937, pp. 266, \$2.75.) "Personal diaries which were kept over a long period of years have been freely utilized in making this record, as well as other manuscripts, editorial files, letters, and autobiographical sketches, all of which have been carefully verified." The book is in the form of an autobiography.

Nativism in Connecticut, 1829-1860. By CARROLL JOHN NOONAN. (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1938, pp. vi, 351, \$2.00.)

Political Nativism in Tennessee to 1860. By SISTER MARY DE LOURDES GOHMANN. (*Ibid.*, pp. vii, 192, \$2.00.) These two doctoral dissertations, the latest in a series dealing with American nativism prepared under the able direction of Professor Richard J. Purcell at the Catholic University of America, are similar in many respects. Both deal primarily with Know-Nothingism: Father Noonan devotes only 111 of his 334 pages of text to the period before 1850, and Sister Mary de Lourdes only 64 of her 172 pages. Both books are based largely on newspaper and legislative sources and are concerned primarily with the history of nativistic political parties rather than with the forces that called those parties into being. Sister Mary de Lourdes explains the growth of Know-Nothingism in Tennessee

largely in terms of local political factionalism, aided, however, by the personal campaign against Rome waged by the fiery Parson William G. Brownlow. Father Noonan, delving more deeply into causal factors, finds that the heavy Irish-Catholic immigration, the persistent anti-Catholic propaganda which was so rampant in New England, and the zealous Protestantism of the Congregational Church were forces which contributed to the success of the American Party in Connecticut. He concludes that nativism before the Civil War was not based primarily on fear of the immigrant as an economic competitor but on hatred of Catholicism. Both of these authors have done a valuable service by preparing their readable, well-documented studies. When the definitive history of Know-Nothingism is written, it will be based on such works as these.

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON.

Semmes of the Alabama. By W. ADOLPHE ROBERTS. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1938, pp. 320, \$3.50.) This is an interesting, readable biography of the leading naval officer of the Confederacy and is based upon an extensive study of the pertinent books, periodicals, and newspapers. The author does not show the impartiality of the more objective biographer or of one who reads extensively in the general literature of the period. His racy narrative, however, will doubtless find more readers than did the scholarly *Life of Semmes* by Colyer Meriwether, published in 1913. Like many men of action Semmes was reticent about his inner self. Few intimate revelations have survived—almost no family letters. It is true that he wrote several books, and from them something may be gleaned of his engaging personality. In any life of him his achievements form the subject of prime interest; and to these, chiefly those in the period of the Civil War, Mr. Roberts devotes four fifths of his book. Semmes's reputation as an eminent naval officer rests upon his successful deep-sea raiding, first in the *Sumter* and later in the *Alabama*. The tactical skill required in the capture of an unarmed merchantman by an armed cruiser is negligible. On the other hand, to escape from the pursuing enemy for more than three years in waters stretching from the Caribbean Sea to the Indian Ocean requires careful planning and skillful methods. Although Semmes captured eighty-seven prizes, his deep-sea raiding had relatively little effect on Northern commerce. Its effect on American shipping, however, was great, for that industry has never approximated the standing it had before the Civil War. In Semmes's one first-class sea fight, his engagement with the *Kearsarge*, he exhibited great courage but poor judgment.

CHARLES O. PAULLIN.

Recollections of War and Peace, 1861-1868. By ANNA PIERPONT SIVITER. Edited by CHARLES HENRY AMBLER. (New York, Putnam's, 1938, pp. xxxviii, 393, \$3.50.) Anna Pierpont Siviter (1858-1932) was the only daughter of Francis H. Pierpont, Union war governor of Virginia and "Father of West Virginia". Intensely loyal to the memory and achievements of her father, who, "because of the conditions under which he lived and wrought, was frequently misunderstood and sometimes misrepresented", she began late in life the task of recording her recollections of that phase of his career beginning with the secession of Virginia and ending with his removal from the headship of the "Restored Government" in 1868. The projected work was never finished, but, in accordance with arrangements made by Mrs. Siviter shortly before her death, her manuscript has been edited and prepared for publication by Professor Ambler. It is obvious that writing which describes events occurring when the author was a very small child and not recorded until nearly fifty years afterward and which, so far as it

purports to be a historical account, is based largely upon the same letters and papers which have been subjected to much more scientific and scholarly treatment by Professor Ambler in his recent biography of Francis H. Pierpont, can add little of positive value to the knowledge of the period already available. Numerous accounts of childhood pleasures and sorrows are vividly presented; and the volume possesses a certain merit in describing the attitude of a loyal Union woman both during the war and in the years that followed and as such may be read as a welcome antidote to the voluminous postwar reminiscences of Southern women who lay claim for their side to all virtue and justice in the great conflict. The editorial work of Professor Ambler, which includes a biographical sketch of Mrs. Siviter and other members of the Pierpont family, is competently executed.

JAMES W. PATTON.

The Yankee Cheese Box. By ROBERT STANLEY MCCORDOCK. (Philadelphia, Dorance, 1938, pp. 470, \$3.00.)

The Confederate Ironclad "Virginia" ("Merrimac"). By HARRISON A. TREXLER. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1938, pp. vii, 95, \$2.00.) Both of these books present a straightforward account of the naval campaign of Hampton Roads and will serve as an introduction to the subject. The latter, as its title implies, is primarily restricted to the Confederate side of the campaign. The former emphasizes the Northern side of the struggle but devotes some space to the Confederate activities. It is especially valuable for its numerous quotations from contemporary newspapers, magazines, and official accounts. In neither of the books is an attempt made to clear up the many controversial points. Some accounts of participants have not been used. The documentation of both works is given in a series of notes at the end.

GEORGE F. HAUGH.

Two Soldiers: The Campaign Diaries of Thomas J. Key, C. S. A., December 7, 1863-May 17, 1865, and Robert J. Campbell, U. S. A., January 1, 1864-July 21, 1864. Edited with an Introduction, Notes, and Maps, by WIRT ARMISTEAD CATE. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1938, pp. xiii, 277, \$2.50.) These two diaries are unusual in that they are the contemporary products of opponents whose attitudes toward war were so different. The diary of Robert J. Campbell, Company E, Third Iowa Infantry, is impersonally gay but not vindictive. He takes the incidents of war in his stride, neither moralizing on nor discussing the daily happenings. The Confederate Captain Thomas J. Key's entries reveal an entirely different attitude, both toward war and toward the enemy. Key was a married man with a family who expressed all the longing of a sensitive soul for home and fireside. In addition to the more personal entries, his comments on military leaders and movements are extended, fair, and remarkably accurate and will be helpful to any student of the period. They reflect the general confidence in General J. E. Johnston and the lack of it in his successor, Hood. Key, closely associated with General Pat Cleburne, perhaps the best division leader in the Confederate army, was not present at the battle of Franklin, where Cleburne was killed. His diary, however, conveys all the heart-break and sorrow of defeat at Franklin and Nashville and in the subsequent bitter retreat, stubborn defense, and final dispersal. Campbell's diary ends with his capture at the battle of Atlanta; Key's, with his surrender and parole in May, 1865. Their one common note is the dislike for mud and rain and cold weather. Dr. Cate has rendered a service to all historians of the period by making available this well-edited contribution, one of the most valuable of its kind for the period covered. There are several reproductions of diary pages, a number of useful maps, a bibliographical note, and an index.

THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

The Unpublished Letters of Bayard Taylor in the Huntington Library. Edited with an Introduction by JOHN RICHIE SCHULTZ. (San Marino, Huntington Library, 1937, pp. xxvi, 231, \$3.00.) "The letters printed here should be considered as supplementary to those in the *Life and Letters*" (1884). Six letters from Russia, "written during the critical winter of 1862-63, give new information about Taylor's short diplomatic career".

Merchants of Peace: Twenty Years of Business Diplomacy through the International Chamber of Commerce, 1919-1938. By GEORGE L. RIDGEWAY. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. xii, 419, \$3.75.) "There has always been a tendency on the part of students of government to underestimate the immediate practical importance of private international movements outside the orbit of governmental action", says Mr. Ridgeway (p. 386), and in this volume he undertakes to show the influence of business leaders organized in the International Chamber of Commerce upon postwar reconstruction efforts and upon economic diplomacy generally. Occasionally one suspects that he goes a little too far in redressing the balance, perhaps giving resolutions and reports of the I.C.C. a greater weight in determining governmental action than they would be given if appraised in the perspective of other influences. But the book is well done and worthy of attention. There is no doubt about the interest and importance for historians of the connection the author traces between the private deliberations of businessmen like Owen D. Young, Alberto Pirelli, and Albert E. Janssen on reconstruction committees of the I.C.C. and the "business settlement" of reparations which these same men helped to work out in the Dawes Plan and Young Plan. One of the outstanding achievements of the I.C.C. has been its promotion of international commercial arbitration. On subjects like simplification of customs formalities, communications and transit, double taxation, and securing uniform bills of lading, its technical committees have worked closely with the organs of the League. The Chamber has taken a leading part in the struggle against trade barriers, from its influential participation in the World Economic Conference of 1927 to its recent joint program of research and education (with the Carnegie Endowment) on commercial and monetary policy. Mr. Ridgeway, and also the reviewer, would like to see future economic conferences have a regular place for nongovernmental delegates from the I.C.C. and from other representative voluntary organizations of economic groups. EUGENE STALEY.

American Regionalism: A Cultural-Historical Approach to National Integration. By HOWARD W. ODUM and HARRY ESTILL MOORE. (New York, Holt, 1938, pp. x, 693, \$3.80.) If this detailed sociological study proves of any particular use to the historian, it will probably be as a reminder that there is a difference between the older sectionalism and the newer regionalism in America. Few historians, however, will care to wade through the masses of details, solid pages of proper nouns, and multitudes of quotations (from Hermann Keyserling to Dorothy Thompson) to find out just what the distinction is. Even the sectionalism before the Civil War was made up of different bundles of regional problems segregated by a few issues that could be injected into national politics. No doubt proper planning could develop the present regionalism into a national interdependence of innumerable localities, but the lack of it (or improper planning) could produce sectional bickerings second only to the present-day international discord. Meanwhile, the historian can sit on the side line and determine ultimately whether Professors Odum and Moore were the prophets of a new order or the promulgators of another unattainable Utopia. FRED A. SHANNON.

The Rise of a New Federalism: Federal-State Cooperation in the United States. By JANE PERRY CLARK. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. xviii, 347, \$3.50.) This book is devoted to one of the most important and least understood problems of present-day public policy—federalism. As the title indicates, the subject matter is that of a new, at least relatively new, approach to the problem. For example, a chapter deals with “informal co-operation” between federal and state governments. Co-operation proves to be conferences, exchange of personnel and facilities, and reciprocal performance of services. Another chapter deals with “agreements and contracts”, both formal and informal, for federal-state activity. A third chapter concentrates on co-operative use of personnel—for example, in World War draft organization, in C.C.C. work, and in the enforcement of prohibition. Another chapter deals with “interdependent law and administration”, including national co-operation with state conservation, liquor, and prison-made goods through use and relinquishment of the power over interstate commerce. Three more chapters are devoted to grants-in-aid and one to federal credits for state taxation. These new angles on federalism require industrious research and much careful thought before they can be appraised in the light of long-run goals of federalism. Miss Clark and her research assistants have industriously made an extremely useful reference volume for students of federalism. But in spite of the wealth of factual material, the book misses fire from the interpretative standpoint. Important controversies arising out of the “new federalism” are often mentioned but never thoroughly discussed. The significance of new devices is rarely tied to the goals of American federalism. The trouble seems to be that the book wants to be both a legal textbook on federal-state relations and a political scientist’s appraisal. Unfortunately for the reader, just as a promising political science fox appears in the open, the hunt is shifted to some minor legalistic rabbit hole. In fairness to the author it should be noted that her introduction recognizes much of this difficulty.

GEORGE C. S. BENSON.

A Second Constitution for the United States of America. By HUGH L. HAMILTON. (Richmond, Garrett and Massie, 1938, pp. viii, 166, \$3.00.)

America Now: An Inquiry into Civilization in the United States. By Thirty-Six Americans. Edited, with an Introduction, by HAROLD E. STEARNS. (New York, Scribner’s, 1938, pp. x, 606, \$3.00.) Taken as a whole, *America Now* does not meet the standards of 1938 or contribute significantly to an understanding of contemporary American life. It is essentially a collection of personal essays, some good and some poor, many superficial and loosely general. Here and there a distinguished piece of work appears in the collection. The two essays on religion, Protestant and Catholic, are mature and illuminating analyses of the subjects with which they deal. The essay on psychiatry usefully summarizes the impact of psychiatry on various fields of thought and endeavor. The subjects of the essays appear to have been selected almost at random. Neither the list of subjects nor their arrangement suggests an effort to view the whole American scene, pick out its major elements, and organize an analysis of American culture in those terms. For example, a section on “Types of Living” is made up of essays on “The Small Town”, “Sports”, and “The Family”—no discussion of the city and none of the farm. If the volume can be said to have a unifying point of view, it is the vaguely liberal, inclined to dwell on the weaknesses of spokesmen for the Left and to plead for tolerance and personal values. The section on “Politics” consists of essays on “Public Opinion”, “Radicalism”, “Communist Mentalities”, “War”, and “The Law”. The New Deal and all its works are passed

over in silence. In short, this volume, though interesting in spots, springs neither from the grass roots of experience and observation nor from the files of research workers, nor is it the matured statement of a person with wide familiarities and penetrating comprehension.

CAROLINE F. WARE.

Die deutsche Einwanderung der Dreissiger und Achtundvierziger in die Vereinigten Staaten und ihre Stellung zur Nordamerikanischen Politik. By IRMGARD ERHORN. (Hamburg, Hans Christian, 1937, pp. 118, 3.75 M.) Those who have sought to explain the role of the Germans in America in terms of the career or character of Carl Schurz have inevitably been misled, for the greatest German-American politician was also the least typical. Far sooner than any of his compatriots, Schurz saw that he could not remain a German in America, and he was courageous enough to make the choice. This decision freed him to serve both his adopted country and his fellow Germans, while his companions in exile were still enmeshed in tantalizing projects for saving the old fatherland or for creating a new one in the United States. Miss Erhorn has grasped this fundamental difference, and Schurz plays a relatively small role in this study of the influence of the German political exiles of 1830 and 1848 upon American politics between 1830 and 1876. Attention throughout is focused upon the great body of exiles who never accepted Schurz's position. The author gives a concise and lucid account of all shades of German-American political opinion from the conservatism of Körner to the arch-radicalism of Heinzen. Within its own scope the work is a useful summary of their ideas and attitudes. But just as Schurz was not representative of the exiles, so the exiles were not representative of the German-American community, the character and motives of whose immigration were completely different. Because she has not even considered the political position of the main body of German-Americans, Miss Erhorn has been unable to deal with such important questions as the influence of German Catholicism or the relations of the Germans with the Irish and other minority groups and has generally failed to penetrate beneath the more superficial aspects of political motivation.

OSCAR HANDLIN.

Candleday Art. By MARION NICHOLL RAWSON. (New York, Dutton, 1938, pp. 383, \$5.00.) American art from colonial times to about 1850 is the subject of this work. The author's sketches of various examples of folk art are valuable for the study of social history.

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- PAUL H. LANDIS. The Number of Unincorporated Places in the United States and their Estimated Populations. *Research Studies State College of Washington*, Dec.
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- JAMES J. TALMAN. A Canadian View of Parties and Issues on the Eve of the Civil War [letters from George Sheppard to Charles Clarke, Oct., 1860-Feb., 1861]. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, May.
- CURTIS W. GARRISON. Slater Fund Beginnings: Letters from General Agent Atticus G. Haygood to Rutherford B. Hayes [1882-1890]. *Ibid.*

NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

- Apostle of New Jersey: John Talbot, 1645-1727*. By EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON. (Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 1938, pp. xii, 217, \$2.50.) This book contains a biography of John Talbot, copies of his letters, excerpts from the journal of George Keith, and a bibliography of the works of and about Talbot.
- Isaac Watts and his Gifts of Books to Yale College*. By ANN STOKELY PRATT. (New Haven, Yale University Library, 1938, pp. vi, 116, \$3.00.) This study "adds to our understanding of the character of the famous hymn writer and to our knowledge of his religious contemporaries in America".
- The Middlesex Canal, 1793-1860*. By CHRISTOPHER ROBERTS. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1938, pp. xii, 252, \$3.00.) The Middlesex was perhaps the most important to its time of the very early completed canal projects in America, but like most of the others, its importance was short-lived, principally because of rapidly developing competition. It connected the Merrimac River at the site of Lowell with an arm of Boston Harbor, twenty-seven miles distant,

and thus gave an outlet for the products of New Hampshire to Boston, city and port, without their having to go by sea from the mouth of the Merrimac. The company was organized in 1793; the canal was not completed until ten years later, and by 1854 it was dead. Mr. Roberts's well-written volume on this old waterway's history is the result of exhaustive research—as is shown by the copious bibliography, including the manuscript records of the company—and is well documented. In his first chapter the author paints in interesting style the social and industrial background of the canal's beginnings. Personalities connected with the project are sketched with pleasant touches of humor. The primitive condition of our engineering and industry at the time, the enormous difficulties to be overcome, are all carefully set forth. The appendixes appear to this reviewer uncommonly interesting—setting forth, as they do, the superintendent's notes on wages and men employed, carpenters' craft rules of the period, lottery information, the varied products carried through the canal, extracts from the diary of Loamm Baldwin, a leading promoter, etc. The book is a noteworthy contribution to our Americana and leaves nothing more to be said upon its particular subject.

ALVIN F. HARLOW.

The Journals of Bronson Alcott. Selected and edited by ODELL SHEPARD. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1938, pp. xxx, 559, \$5.00.) Bronson Alcott, a great name in the "Golden Day", regarded with respect, amusement, or moral condemnation, was allowed in subsequent years to become a myth, a synonym for windy rhetoric and neglect of parental duties, far less known than his daughter Louisa. In his *Pedlar's Progress* Professor Shepard revived Alcott's reputation, re-created the man, and restored him to his just place as the third in the triumvirate of transcendentalists. This admirably edited volume of Alcott's journals which now follows the biography is a necessary companion piece to the earlier work. Long as it is, the volume includes only the twentieth part of Alcott's enormous diaries, but it covers his entire life from 1826, when he began to teach school at Cheshire, Connecticut, down to 1882, when a stroke of paralysis deprived him of the power of writing, with the exception of six intervening years for which the journals were lost. The missing part unfortunately included the record of Alcott's experience at Fruitlands, but Professor Shepard makes the best substitution possible by printing selections from Mrs. Alcott's diary for the same period. Each year of Alcott's journals is prefixed by a short running account of his reading, his friendships, and his main activities during the year. Professor Shepard has done for his subject all that one can demand of an editor. The journals do not reveal Alcott as a great thinker, a great writer, or a great man, but they do reveal a charming and original personality, whose transcendentalism was developed before his contact with Emerson or Thoreau, who influenced both of them deeply, and who was associated with nearly all the important men and important movements in America during his lifetime. The volume is thus an invaluable source book for the study of American letters and history.

ERNEST SUTHERLAND BATES.

Louisa May Alcott. By KATHARINE ANTHONY. (New York, Knopf, 1938, pp. xiii, 304, xi, \$3.00.) This is a biography designed, we are assured, for adults. It is a psychological interpretation, and it is much concerned with matters of health and nerves, with inhibitions and frustrations and complexes. It suggests that in her long series of stories Miss Alcott revealed not only nostalgia but escapism, that she was taking refuge from unhappiness and loneliness and illness in her own glorified past. She was doubtless doing that, and she was doing other things as well—among them making a very handsome living for her impe-

curious family. Whatever the motivation of the books, Miss Anthony admits that they did not reflect frustration or misery, so the problem is to some extent irrelevant. What they do reflect, says Miss Anthony, is American life, and they are therefore documents for the social historian. They are not merely children's books—not in the sense in which the Elsie or the Rollo or the Alger stories are children's books—and they have been popular with adults even before sanctification by the screen. Aside from this literary lance which she breaks for her heroine, Miss Anthony is not disposed to belligerent defense. She confines herself rather to details, some not without interest. She says a good word for the novel *Work*, "a picture of middle-class working-woman before the war", and a harsh word for the revised *Moods*; she resurrects some curious criticism by young Henry James; she condescends to Bronson Alcott and reminds us that sister May had genuine artistic talent. For the most part, however, she adds little to what we already know of the author of *Little Women*; her contribution, such as it is, lies in the appreciation of character.

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

In Memoriam William Kenneth Boyd, January 10, 1879-January 19, 1938. [Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society.] (Durham, Duke University Press, 1938, pp. vii, 97, \$1.00.)

Jamestown and St. Mary's, Buried Cities of Romance. By HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1938, pp. xvii, 355, \$4.50.) This volume represents the careful investigation of an archaeologist and historian. It is profusely illustrated, attractively presented, and leaves, altogether, a fine impression. All that remains of old Jamestown to visitors are the ruins of a brick church, and of St. Mary's City two brick-and-frame houses and an out-building, but to the expert archaeologist and artist a couple of dozen foundations of the former and five of the latter have yielded an astonishing amount of information. Gauged bricks, tiles, ornamented hinges, lattices, lattice casements, plaster ceilings, and other relics, studied in relation to the written records, recall to life the settlers of old Jamestown and St. Mary's. Dr. Forman reconstructs in drawings many buildings of the two towns; in end maps he definitely locates these in relation to the land grants made to the settlers and to the general topography. The vividness with which the ancient scene is recreated evokes in the reader a distinct yearning for the actual reconstruction of these two famous ancestral towns.

CYRUS H. KARRAKER.

Chronicles of Old Berkeley: A Narrative History of a Virginia County from its Beginnings to 1926. By MABEL HENSHAW GARDINER and ANN HENSHAW GARDINER. (Martinsburg, privately printed, 119 North Maple Avenue, 1938, pp. ix, 323, \$5.00.)

Old Sherry: Portrait of a Virginia Family. By FRANK J. KLINGBERG. (Richmond, Garrett and Massie, 1938, pp. xi, 218, \$3.00.) It is one thing to talk of the importance to the social historian of letters revealing intimate, everyday matters and another to make fruitful and illuminating use of them. Professor Klingberg has achieved a rare degree of success in his reconstruction of the history of a family in southwestern Virginia over a period of some two hundred years. The letters reproduced in this volume are those written by William Wirt Wysor, a descendant of Conrad Weiser, during his consulship in Spain from 1893 to 1897. Wysor, a Confederate veteran and newspaperman, wrote simply and charmingly, and yet concretely, of social and cultural conditions in Cadiz

and Jerez de la Frontera. But the chief value of the letters lies in their revelation of the psychology not only of the writer but of his forefathers and kinsfolk. Dr. Klingberg's book is a scholarly and engaging story of the family's history in terms of the national stocks comprising it and of the impact of southwestern Virginia's environment on it. The letters remind one of a cameo, which, sharp and clear in miniature, awakens in the mind larger contours and images. Professor Klingberg specifically shows how, by a judicious use of such materials as the books in the old family library, keepsakes, tombstone inscriptions, courthouse records, and memories, a family's history can be made to illuminate a provincial culture. The tragedies endured by the courageous people in this record are all the more poignant because they are put into relationship with great forces and conflicts. It is to be hoped that Professor Klingberg will, in editing additional letters and materials from this family collection, carry still further his stimulating psychological and philosophical reflections on the problems in social history which he has raised.

MERLE CURTI.

Georgia as Colony and State. By AMANDA JOHNSON. (Milledgeville, privately published, 1938, pp. ix, 1064, \$5.00.) Apart from brief accounts, the histories of Georgia heretofore have given most of their attention to the colonial and Revolutionary periods; the two best-known of the older histories (W. B. Stevens's and C. C. Jones's) do not extend beyond 1800. Hence there was real need for a complete history of the state. Dr. Johnson has done much to help the situation, for she has searched the records, primary and secondary, and she has emerged with a great many facts never before included in book form. She has apportioned her space well. The colony, so often written about, gets little more than a tenth of the pages; the whole period down to 1800 receives less than a fifth; and in keeping with modern trends, the recent period (since Reconstruction) is given almost half the book. In handling her facts Dr. Johnson has been somewhat less successful. Though she has produced an enlarged picture of the state by bringing in not only political and military events but also economic, social, literary, and other developments, she has tended more toward cataloguing them chapter by chapter under much the same subheadings than listing fewer details and giving broader interpretations. The work is highly objective, so much so that to Dr. Johnson's credit even Sherman's march receives a straightforward account. There are minor blemishes, such as *Quarterly* for *Collections* (p. 50), Matthews for Mathews (p. 177 and elsewhere), Johnson for Johnston (p. 189), *a* for *the* in the first line of poetry on page 435, Boss for Bass (p. 523), Cote for Cate (p. 601), Bacock for Bocock (p. 1039), and so on. The work is highly documented with footnotes on practically every page and with bibliographies at the end of each chapter. There are also a general bibliography and an index. Thirty-four maps and charts are scattered throughout the book, but many of them are on so small a scale as to be almost illegible.

E. MERTON COULTER.

Church-State Relationships in Education in North Carolina since 1776. By LUTHER L. GOBBEL. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1938, pp. xvi, 251, \$3.00.) This monograph is a scholarly contribution to the understanding of one important aspect of our social and cultural history. In accord with our democratic tradition, "free enterprise" has characterized the development of higher education in this country, and "competition", often ruthless and wasteful, has marked the growth of our private colleges and state universities. The competitive principle has been maintained by constitutional provisions for religious liberty and by the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dartmouth College case. Dr.

Gobbel has chosen the state of North Carolina as a laboratory for the study of the dramatic conflicts which have taken place between church and state institutions in almost every state in the union. He has drawn extensively upon original sources and documented his narrative with numerous extracts from the writings and speeches of leaders in the long warfare between state and church in North Carolina. The rivalry between the University of North Carolina, one of the first state universities to be established in the country, and the church colleges of Wake Forest, Davidson, Guilford, Trinity, Greensboro, and Catawba, is depicted with genuine restraint yet with a vivid sense of the drama of conflicting personalities and social forces. For students of religious as well as educational history in the United States the volume is illuminating and invaluable.

DONALD G. TEWKSBURY.

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

Sons of the Wilderness: John and William Conner. By CHARLES N. THOMPSON. (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1937, pp. ix, 283, \$2.00.) This volume contains matter of considerable interest to the local historian and not a little that has a wider appeal. From a variety of published and unpublished sources (none of them, unfortunately, very personal) Mr. Thompson has traced the careers of the two Conner brothers. Their lives spanned and typified the transition of the Ohio valley from perilous Indian frontier to well-established white civilization—a transition of which either brother might justly have written, *magna pars fui*. Brought up in intimate association with the Delaware Indians, both brothers chose, in their young manhood, to follow that tribe into Indiana Territory. Here they set up trading posts, married Indian girls, and reared half-breed families. They served Governor Harrison as interpreters, participated in the making of numerous Indian treaties, and on the eve of the War of 1812 helped to immunize the Delaware to the blandishments of Tecumseh, the Prophet, and the British. Unlike some other backwoodsmen, however, both Connors found it easy to adapt themselves to the ways of white civilization when it caught up with them. After John's Indian wife had died and William's had gone west with her tribe (taking her children with her),

both married women of their own race, and each raised a second brood of children. Both served in the state legislature. Both made successfully the transition from Indian trader to town merchant, and William lived long enough to become a promoter of railroads. It appears that both kept to the end, however, the esteem and confidence of the Delaware Indians. The story is well told and well documented.

JULIUS W. PRATT.

Josiah Bushnell Grinnell. By CHARLES E. PAYNE. [Iowa Biographical Series.] (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1938, pp. xii, 338, \$2.00.) In 1854 Grinnell founded the Iowa community which bears his name. This unique outpost, truer to New England ideals than Boston itself, is described in this biography with a wealth of detail invaluable to a student of the westward movement. After his abolitionism had forced him to give up his church in Washington, Grinnell worked with Horace Greeley in New York City. Greeley's famous advice, "Go West, young Man", was first given to Grinnell. Hearing the tramp of coming millions, he established a colony of New Englanders who would "energize" any state. Such was their puritan zeal for education that within two years they had a college with assets of \$45,000; Grinnell served as president of its board of trustees. He subscribed to twenty newspapers, chief of which was the New York *Tribune*, read by a surprising number in this distant frontier state. Greeley's columns were always open to Grinnell's letters. To these letters the author casually refers, but a fine opportunity was missed in not making a thorough search in the *Tribune* and at least listing all such letters and perhaps printing the series as an appendix. Only one note out of 518 refers directly to the *Tribune*, and 108 give as authority Grinnell's *Men and Events of Forty Years*; yet the author writes that "Grinnell was constitutionally inaccurate and his reminiscences [were] written when he was old and suffering" (n. 39). Space is wasted in referring to textbooks, thus obscuring really worthwhile references, such as Eastman's diary (p. 19). Lois K. Mathews's *Expansion of New England* is not once mentioned. The format of the notes and lack of a bibliography—not even a complete citation is given in the case of first references in notes—indicate that the editorial policy of the sponsoring society might well be reconsidered. For the period of Grinnell's Washington residence apparently no attempt was made to use contemporary newspapers or church records, nor was use made of relevant manuscript collections in various localities. These defects prevent this book from being definitive, though its excellent literary style and beautiful bookmaking delight the reader.

A. T. VOLWILER.

Southern Plainsmen. By CARL COKE RISTER. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1938, pp. xviii, 289, \$3.00.) In eighteen chapters on as many different phases of pioneer life Professor Rister has assembled his material on the folkways of the southern plains. Preceded by descriptions of such transient figures as the buffalo hunter, bullwhacker, and range rider, the major portion of the volume relates the hardships, work, and play of the agricultural settler. In sketching the development of overland staging across the plains and in recounting the days of the Oklahoma boomers, a chronological narrative style is employed, but elsewhere there is an attempt to draw composite pictures of frontier life and types. Illustrations are taken from incidents separated in space and time, for the author has avoided too strict an adherence to the often imperceptible geographic bounds of his region and the even more uncertain time limit to the frontier character of its society. His generalizations, however, cover rather broad ground, and too strong an impression is given that life

everywhere on the plains followed a uniform pattern. Within the scope of this volume all phases of frontier life could not be presented. The author has chosen to describe the bull teams and stagecoaches but not the early railroads; he has stressed the heroism of pioneer women rather than that of the men. Supplementing *The Southwestern Frontier*, his earlier work on the subjugation and occupation of this region, and *The Greater Southwest*, a work of collaboration, Professor Rister's latest volume is essentially a tribute to the intrepidity and perseverance of southern plainsmen in overcoming their environment.

WALCOTT WATSON.

Debates of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875. Edited by ISIDOR LOEB and FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER. Volumes IV and V. (Columbia, State Historical Society of Missouri, 1938, pp. 563; 504.)

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LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

Handbook of Latin American Studies: A Selective Guide to the Material published in 1937 on Anthropology, Art, Economics, Education, Folklore, Geography, Government, History, International Relations, Law, Language, and Literature. By a number of scholars. Edited by LEWIS HANKE. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1938, pp. xv, 635, \$4.00.) Unfortunately the grouping of materials for the different subjects covered in this handbook does not follow a uniform plan. Anthropology is divided between Middle and South America, art between Brazil and Spanish America, economics is distributed between Brazil, South America, and the Caribbean area (which is made to include Colombia, Venezuela, and British Guiana), whereas education and folklore have no geographic classification either by area or country, while materials dealing with government are separately grouped by arranging the countries in alphabetic order. The other subjects treated follow plans equally irregular. The volume would have been simpler and more useful if it had been possible to group all the materials under a similar plan. A more serious criticism has to do with the index. The justification for the labor involved in publishing such a volume is to be found in its usability. Unfortunately there is only an index of names. It would add materially to the usefulness of the handbook if in future editions a subject index, grouped as far as possible under each country, were included. A student interested in a special subject relating to Peru, Mexico, or Costa Rica, for example, has to search through the entire volume to gather what significant materials are included, and if interested in a country rather than in a

subject, he would never be certain that he had not missed relevant items without scrutinizing each of the thousands of references included in the handbook. This edition of the handbook, however, has greatly increased its usefulness by including citations from the periodical literature of Latin America. The articles on Brazil deserve special mention.

FRANK TANNENBAUM.

Catálogo de los fondos americanos del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla. Volume V, *Siglos XV y XVI.* (Seville, Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de América, 1937, pp. 564.) It is not a little remarkable that the present volume of this series was completed and published in the midst of the late civil war in Spain. Even this severely scholarly work about an age long past bears some traces of the war, for it was published not at Madrid, as were the first four volumes (1930-35), but at Seville, and a note on the flyleaf at the end of the volume states that the printing was completed on June 24, 1938, "II Año Triunfal". Once more, as in the earlier volumes, the editors have levied upon manuscript sources in the municipal archives of Seville for materials relating to the history of the Spanish empire in its golden age. In this volume they have calendared sixteen hundred documents, the first of which is dated April 27, 1497, and the last January 21, 1603. In that period Seville was the main channel of communication between Spain and its American colonies; and while the reviewer has not noted any spectacular "finds" among the documents here calendared, they constitute a valuable source for the social and economic history of both Spain and Spanish America, for they contain a mass of information about such topics as contracts, prices, slaves, commerce, and emigration, and about a host of persons, both eminent and obscure, whose activities related in one way or another to Spanish America. The value of the work is greatly enhanced by the inclusion of detailed indexes of subjects, persons, places, and ships.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER.

The Mormon Colonies in Mexico. By THOMAS C. ROMNEY. (Salt Lake City, Deseret Press, 1938, pp. 338, \$2.50.) This is the first and the only published account of the activities of the Mormons in Mexico. The fact that Dr. Romney writes of events in which he himself participated, having lived for some twenty-five years in the Mormon colonies of Chihuahua and Sonora, gives to his book the vividness of an eyewitness account and an intimate personal touch that make it really fascinating. In a foreword Dr. Herbert E. Bolton remarks: "A loyal Mormon, Dr. Romney manifests in this work . . . a deep affection for the land where he spent the golden years of early manhood. Of necessity he treats some topics that may be controversial, but always with fair-mindedness."

MILTON R. HUNTER.

Máximo Gómez: Obra premiada en el Concurso Extraordinario del Centenario de su nacimiento. By RAMÓN INFESTA. [Academia de la Historia de Cuba.] (Havana, Imprenta "El Siglo XX", A. Muñoz y Hno., 1937, pp. xii, 252.) A lyrical and literary biography of one of the great figures of Cuban independence. The volume was specially honored in a competition with other contributions to the celebration of the centenary of the Cuban patriot.

History of Colombia. By JESÚS MARÍA HENAO and GERARDO ARRUBLA. Translated and edited by J. Fred Rippy. [The Inter-American Historical Series, edited by James A. Robertson.] (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1938, pp. xii, 578, \$5.00.) The present translation of a standard history of Colombia, written by two thoroughly competent Colombian scholars, contains a bibliography, a glossary of Spanish terms, and two maps. As Professor Rippy states, he

has omitted some parts of the original, abridged others, and added several pages to the last chapter. Several paragraphs on pages 534-35 were reproduced from Professor Rippy's *The Capitalists in Colombia* (1931), pages 177-79. Since these consist largely of comparative figures showing the social and economic development of Colombia in the present century, the passage should have been revised in order to provide more recent figures and also to show how the means of transportation and communication have been improved by the greatly increased use of airplanes and radios. One of the best reasons for publishing translations of these national histories of Latin America is that they enable readers unfamiliar with Spanish and Portuguese to see the history of the Latin-American countries through Latin-American eyes. With this in mind, the reviewer compared several passages in the original Spanish text with Mr. Rippy's translation. He found that, while the translation follows the original closely for the most part and is generally excellent, the passages omitted by the translator include some of the most characteristic details, such as anecdotes, tropical flowers of rhetoric, and expressions of devout Roman Catholicism. The reviewer agrees with Professor Rippy that the original was too long, but he is inclined to think that it would have been better either to make a thorough revision of it (especially by condensing the disproportionately long section on the wars of independence) or else to reproduce the Colombian self-portrait with the utmost fidelity, wart and all. Perhaps neither of these alternatives was practicable; and even as it stands, the book is a valuable addition to the literature in English on Latin America.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER.

Storia dell' America Latina (Argentina e Brasile). By GINO DORIA. (MILAN, Ulrico Hoepli, 1937, pp. xxiii, 298, 15 l.) An interesting and well-written history of the Argentine and Brazil, emphasizing Italian contributions to their development. Only sixty-three pages are devoted to the colonial period. In spite of the broad strokes with which the Spanish colonial system is sketched, the volume, emphasizing as it does only two countries in Latin America, scarcely deserves the title under which it is published. Excellent bibliographies are attached to the three parts into which the book is divided.

Latin America and the United States. By GRAHAM H. STUART. Third edition, thoroughly revised. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1938, pp. x, 510, \$4.00.)

Latin America in World Politics: An Outline Survey. By J. FRED RIPPY. Third edition. (New York, Crofts, 1938, pp. 303, \$5.00.) Chapter xvi has been rewritten in the light of recent changes in the policy of the United States toward Latin America. Slight revisions have been made in other parts of the work.

Conferencias internacionales americanas, 1889-1936. (Washington, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1938, pp. lviii, 746, \$4.00.) This volume in Spanish contains the texts of the treaties, conventions, recommendations, resolutions, and motions adopted by the first seven International Conferences of American States, the International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration, and the Inter-American Conference on Consolidation of Peace. It also has documents relative to the organization of these conferences. The preface is written by Dr. Leo S. Rowe, and Dr. James Brown Scott contributes a historical introduction with illustrative documents. There are a bibliography, appendixes showing the status of the conventions, and a good index. The volume is a useful manual for Spanish readers.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

HISTORICAL NEWS

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Executive Secretary of the Association has received only 682 returns out of a membership of more than three thousand for the proposed new list of members and research projects. Please send in your return at once to Professor Conyers Read, 226 South 16th Street, Philadelphia. Material must go to press on August 31.

The following should be added to the *List of Research Projects in History, exclusive of Doctoral Dissertations*, published as a supplement to Volume XXXIX, No. 3, of the *American Historical Review*:

IV. Modern Europe

Spain, Portugal, and the Powers, 1866-1871: Diplomacy and Revolution. Prog. Chester W. Clark, *State University of Iowa*.

VIII. Germany

Beust and Bismarck. Prog. 20 pp. *Id.*

OTHER HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: photostats of nearly one hundred additional papers of the Rumsey family, dated 1662 to 1870; photostat of probate records relating to estate of one Patrick Calhoun, dated 1741 and 1743; one portfolio of additional papers of James and Henry Ritchie, merchants of Essex County, Virginia, dated 1761 to 1813; index (typescript) to the files of the House of Representatives, First to Seventy-fourth Congresses, 1789 to 1936; two volumes of typescript copies of Common Pleas Court Minutes, Knox County, Indiana, 1796-99; additional photostats of letters of George Washington; photostats of nine pieces of official correspondence between Joaquín del Real Alencaster and Nemesio Salcedo y Salcedo, dated 1806, 1807, 1810; five additional portfolios of papers of Alexander S. Palmer and Nathaniel B. Palmer, sea captains of Stonington, Connecticut, dated 1813 to 1906; five portfolios of papers, mainly personal, of Daniel D. Brodhead, navy agent at Boston, dated 1821 to 1855; two portfolios of papers of Francis Preston Blair, jr., and other members of the Blair family, dated 1852 to 1874; eight papers relating to Frank T. Sands (undertaker, Washington, D. C., who, with others, was in charge of the remains of Abraham Lincoln), dated 1862 and 1865; two portfolios of additional papers of George Bancroft and Alexander Bliss, dated 1862 to 1872; journal of Darwin Weaver, from Austin, Texas, to Fort Craig, N. M., July 21-October 4, 1869,

and back from Fort Selden, N. M., to San Antonio, Texas, October 22-December 15, 1869; letter copy-book (letters sent) and copies of 107 letters of Benjamin Harrison (1833-1901), dated 1880 to 1892; copy of a letter of Alfred Thayer Mahan relating to Admiral Sampson and Commodore Schley, August 5, 1898; pamphlet consisting of copies of important papers of Philippe Bunau-Varilla relating to Panama, with a foreword dated November 3, 1938; seven boxes of additional papers of Tasker Howard Bliss; papers relating to the history of the Library of Congress, collected and prepared by Dr. William Dawson Johnston.

The National Archives has received from the United States District Court for the Southern District of Ohio papers concerning the Burr conspiracy and the preparations to try Aaron Burr and Harmon Blennerhassett in the United States Circuit Court at Chillicothe. The documents date from 1805 to 1808 and include the recognizances of the defendants given at Richmond, following the trials there; the bills of indictment returned by the Ohio grand jury, charging Burr and Blennerhassett with high misdemeanors; and various evidentiary papers. Experiences of the American privateer *Yankee* in African waters in 1814-15 are described in a fragmentary log found among customhouse records in the National Archives. Also of interest to students of American maritime history is the receipt from the Bureau of Customs of correspondence with collectors of customs, 1789-1907, and, from the customhouse in New York, of crew lists of vessels entering or clearing there, 1803-1919, and shipping articles for the crews of ships sailing thence, 1840-1914. Other records recently transferred to the National Archives include correspondence of the Division of Insolvent National Banks, from the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, 1865-1937; maps, many of which deal with the Seminole Indian wars in Florida, from the Office of the Chief of Engineers, 1817-57; personnel records relating to the Department of Justice and the federal judiciary, 1870-1908; requisitions and contracts from the Bureau of Ordnance, 1899-1935; correspondence of the Forester's Office, 1883-1905; correspondence relating to entomological activities, from the Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine, 1883-1924; and records of the International Fisheries Commissions established in 1908 and 1924.

Among recent accessions to the Naval Historical Foundation are the following: fourteen letters relating to Captain Samuel Chester Reid, 1852; log of the *John Adams*, 1842-44; several letters of Commander Alexander Claxton, 1832-41; twelve journals, 1887-1920, by Captain J. C. Leonard; rare print of John Paul Jones, 1779.

Collections of private papers recently acquired by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin include those of Adolphus P. Nelson, Republican congressman from the Eleventh District from 1918 to 1923; personal correspondence of Joseph W. Babcock, congressman from the Third District from

1893 to 1907 and for many years chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee; about one hundred letters received by Charles S. Benton, member of Congress from Mohawk, New York, and leader of the radical Democratic faction in that state in the decade of the forties; additional letters of Charles R. Van Hise written during his presidency of the University of Wisconsin, 1903-18; three letter books, 1888-89, kept by General Edward S. Bragg while minister to Mexico. The society, in its capacity of official custodian of noncurrent state archives, has received from the secretary of state the complete set of original legislative bills for the territory and state from 1836 to 1887 and a large quantity of miscellaneous material known as "legislative papers" dating from 1836 to 1929, consisting of governors' messages, committee reports, papers on contested elections, impeachment case records, legislative investigations, and a vast number of resolutions, memorials, and petitions.

The Rutherford B. Hayes—Lucy Webb Hayes Foundation has announced that it is prepared to offer a number of grants-in-aid to students to assist them in carrying on studies in American history within the period from the Civil War to the Spanish-American War. The grants, which are to be administered by a committee of which Carl Wittke, dean of Oberlin College, is chairman, are intended to promote productive scholarship in the following fields: the economic, educational, and cultural history of the South, the reconciliation and knitting together of the sections, the history of the development of federal and state administration, and some phases of the cultural, social, and political history of the United States as well as of Ohio beginning in the 1840's. The committee will consider only the applications of persons of requisite training and experience who have made substantial progress in the research for which the grant is needed. Grants may supplement university research funds or other sources of aid to the grantee, and in that case application should first be made to such other agencies. The committee will make its selection from applications filed with it by January 15. Awards will be made in March and will be payable by June 15. Inquiries should be addressed to Dr. Curtis W. Garrison, secretary of the Committee on Grants of the Hayes Foundation, Hayes Memorial Library, Fremont, Ohio.

The first informal conference of professors and university lecturers interested in American studies in Great Britain was held by arrangement with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace at Dunford House, Midhurst, Sussex, on June 3 and 4. The principal topics of discussion were the position of American studies in Great Britain, American postgraduate studies in British universities, and preuniversity studies of American history in British schools. The following were present at the Conference: R. M. McElroy, Harmsworth Professor of American History at the University of Oxford;

H. H. Bellot, Commonwealth Fund Professor of American History at the University of London; W. K. Hancock, professor of history at the University of Birmingham; R. B. Mowat, professor of history at the University of Bristol; D. W. Brogan, professor of political science at the University of Cambridge (from October, 1939); Preston Slosson, professor of history at the University of Michigan (Visiting Carnegie Professor for the year 1938-39); J. A. Hawgood, reader in medieval and modern history at the University of Birmingham; R. A. Humphreys, lecturer in history at the University of London; F. R. Hyde, lecturer in economic history at the University of Liverpool; R. I. James, lecturer in history at the University of Bristol; A. Simpson, lecturer in history at the University of St. Andrews. It was decided that similar meetings should be held every year.

PERSONAL

Howard Carter, discoverer of the tomb of King Tut-ankh-Amûn, died in London on March 2 at the age of sixty-six. His formal education ended in 1890 when he was 17, at which time a post was obtained for him as a draftsman with the Archaeological Survey of Egypt, conducted by the Egypt Exploration Fund (now the Egypt Exploration Society). From that time on he spent the greater part of nearly every year in Egypt. In 1892 he assisted Petrie at El Amarnah, and from 1893 to 1899 he worked under the Swiss Egyptologist Naville at the heavy task of uncovering the famous temple of Queen Hat-shepsût on the west bank at Thebes and copying its reliefs. The folio volumes on this temple at Deir el Bahri contain 174 plates nearly all of which are by Carter. At the turn of the century Carter became inspector general for Upper Egypt in the Egyptian Antiquities Service, and not long after that he began his first work in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes as director of the excavations supported by Theodore M. Davies, the American antiquarian, clearing the tombs of Queen Hat-shepsût and King Thut-mose IV and several private tombs. In 1907 Carter began his long association with the late Earl of Carnarvon, whose excavations he directed until Lord Carnarvon's death in 1923. Before the World War these excavations were in the Theban necropolis. Just before the war Carnarvon received the concession in the Valley of the Kings relinquished by Theodore Davies, for he and Carter felt that the unknown resting-place of Tut-ankh-Amûn might well prove to be there. In the spring of 1922, when, after several seasons' strenuous labor, no tomb had appeared, the excavators considered abandoning the valley but decided to try one more season. A few days after beginning work in the autumn of 1922, Carter discovered the entrance to Tut-ankh-Amûn's tomb. From then until his death he was engaged in the clearing of the tomb and the study and publication of its contents. The facts in regard to the climax of his life work are too well known to need repetition. Let it suffice to say

that Carter handled the many unprecedented problems involved with masterly ingenuity. Never a scholar in the language or history of ancient Egypt, Carter was nevertheless a great excavator, and his discoveries, reported in several volumes and in numerous articles in archaeological journals, are valuable contributions to our knowledge of Egyptian civilization in the Middle and New Kingdoms.

Dr. James Alexander Robertson, a noted specialist in the history of the Philippine Islands and Latin America, died at his home in Annapolis, Maryland, on March 20 at the age of sixty-four. Although he wrote a number of articles and monographs, he excelled as an editor and bibliographer. For a quarter of a century he was outstanding in his field, having published a bibliography of the Philippines and a guide to a section of the Spanish archives and having edited either alone or in collaboration some seventy volumes of documents and original narratives. He was one of the founders of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* and its managing editor from the beginning. He spent years in the libraries and archives of Europe, was head of the Philippine Library from 1910 to 1916, served in the Department of Commerce at Washington from 1917 to 1923, was from time to time research assistant of the Carnegie Institution, occupied the post of research professor of American history at John B. Stetson for a decade, and at his death was archivist of the State of Maryland. His latest project was the editing of translations of several of the national histories of the Latin-American countries, "The Inter-American Series", three volumes of which have already appeared. Always gentle, kind, and easily approached, he was ever ready to aid and encourage younger scholars, by whom his loss will be distinctly felt.

Ettore Pais, professor emeritus of ancient history at the University of Rome and dean of the Italian writers on Roman history, died on March 28 at the age of eighty-two. Although influenced by Mommsen in his earlier work, he soon struck out along independent paths and developed a school of his own. In contrast to Mommsen's legalistic interpretation of the Roman constitution Pais adopted a more realistic and evolutionary point of view. Imbued with the idea that the Romans and not the later Germanic invaders were the real founders of Italian civilization, and hence that Roman history is really Italian history, he strove with success to reawaken among Italian historians an interest in a period which they had abandoned largely to foreign, and especially German, scholars. Pais paid particular attention to the Romanization of the various regions of Italy and to the contributions of their culture to Roman civilization. This resulted in his well-known works on Sardinia, Sicily, and Magna Graecia. But his name is, perhaps, most generally associated with his drastic critique of the traditions of early Roman history, which he considered almost wholly unreliable for the period prior to 400 B.C. Even though his skepticism may have been pushed too far, it

was essentially healthy and a necessary prelude to a proper reappraisal of the sources for this period. Pais's researches extended from pre-Roman Italy to the time of Augustus, but he did not carry his narrative reconstruction beyond the Roman conquest of the Mediterranean. The long list of his honorary doctorates, which includes degrees from Chicago and Oxford, testifies to the respect inspired by his scholarship among contemporary historians.

Tenney Frank, professor of Latin at the Johns Hopkins University since 1919 and a recent member of the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review*, died at Oxford, England, on April 3 at the age of sixty-two. A graduate of the University of Kansas, he received his doctorate from the University of Chicago and subsequently studied at Göttingen and Berlin. Prior to his appointment at Johns Hopkins he taught at Chicago and Bryn Mawr and in 1923-25 was in charge of the School of Classical Studies of the American Academy in Rome. Professor Frank was a tireless worker and wrote widely on questions of Roman literature and history. His *Roman Imperialism*, his *History of Rome*, and his chapters on Roman history in Volumes VII and VIII of the *Cambridge Ancient History* show a general command of the latter field, but his major contribution was on the economic side. In addition to his *Economic History of Rome* he planned and served as general editor of the *Economic Survey of Rome*, to which he contributed Volume I, *Rome and Italy of the Republic*, and for which he left a virtually completed manuscript of Volume V, *Rome and Italy of the Empire*, which will conclude the series. Besides his writing and teaching Professor Frank found time to act as editor of the *American Journal of Philology* and as associate editor of the *Classical Quarterly* and the *English Classical Review*. He had the distinction of being appointed Horace White Lecturer at Bryn Mawr, Sather Lecturer at the University of California, Martin Lecturer at Oberlin, and of delivering the Herz Foundation Lectures for the British Academy in 1931-32. Other honors included the presidency of the American Philological Association and fellowships in the British Academy and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. At the time of his death Professor Frank was holder of the Eastman Visiting Professorship at Oxford for 1939.

Robert Thomas Pollard, professor of Oriental studies at the University of Washington, died suddenly in Seattle on April 12. Born in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, on November 26, 1897, he graduated from the Ohio State University in 1922 and received a master of arts degree from the same institution a year later. From 1923 to 1926 he taught at St. Johns University in Shanghai, at the end of which time he returned to teach in his alma mater for a year or two. Immediately upon being awarded the degree of doctor of philosophy by the University of Minnesota in 1931, Professor Pollard was called to the faculty of the University of Washington as head of the Department of Oriental Studies. An able administrator, as well as a critical scholar

and inspiring teacher; he built up a department which has come to be recognized nationally as well as locally as an outstanding center for the study of the Orient. Professor Pollard's book, *China's Foreign Relations, 1917-1931* (1933), won for him the George Louis Beer Prize of the American Historical Association in 1934, and his untimely death interrupted work on a two-volume study of Japanese foreign policy which promised to be of even greater significance. At various times he contributed articles relating to modern Far Eastern history to the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, *Amerasia*, and the *Pacific Historical Review*. He was one of the editors of the *Pacific Historical Review* at the time of his death.

On April 21 Sir William Mitchell Ramsay died at Bournemouth in his eighty-ninth year. His career spans an epoch in the exploration and interpretation of ancient remains in Asia Minor, an epoch of which he was himself largely the creator. Beginning with a rigorous training in the classical disciplines, he turned to the study of Greek art, and when he was a fellow at Athens he conceived the idea of pursuing to their origins the influences that had come from the then unexplored and unexploited regions of Anatolia. From 1880 on he made almost annual trips that yielded an enormous harvest of archaeological, religious, historical, and topographical evidence and created a new world of study for his contemporaries. Everything was grist for his mill. Accomplished scholarship, involving the use of many little-read authors, was combined with extraordinary knowledge of geography and a sure topographical sense to produce his *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* and the no less brilliant *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*. Interest in the development of Asia Minor inevitably involved study of the institutions of the Roman Empire there, and these in turn quickly led him to the history of the diffusion of early Christianity. A great series of Pauline and other studies, often popular in character, awakened scholars and laymen alike to the contributions Asia Minor had to make to the interpretation of the New Testament. Of most interest to Roman historians was his discovery in 1914 of fragments of the *Res gestae* of Augustus at Antioch-toward-Pisidia. This led to the Michigan Expedition of 1924-25 and finally to their publication by Premierstein and himself in 1927. His energy and interest kept up amazingly. At seventy-five he was still able to explore Pisidian hillsides, and the next year he published his suggestive Gifford Lectures, *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilization*. A final study on the "Social Basis of Permanence in the Roman Empire", to be issued in annual parts, began in 1938. Beside his own significant researches, which now at some points have to yield to the more rigorous methods of a newer day, must be placed those of the brilliant and enthusiastic band of scholars that he trained and inspired.

The following appointments are noted: *Brooklyn College*, Hans W. Rosenberg as assistant professor (as of February 1, 1939); *Bryn Mawr Col-*

lege, John Chester Miller as assistant professor; *Columbia University*, Henry Steele Commager of New York University as professor and Walter E. Dorn of Ohio State University as visiting professor; *University of Illinois*, Fred A. Shannon of Kansas State Agricultural College as associate professor; *State University of Iowa*, Chester Wells Clark as associate professor; *University of Missouri*, H. C. Nixon of Tulane University as visiting professor; *North Texas Agricultural College*, Horace B. Carroll as professor; *University of Oregon*, John Gilbert Reid of the State College of Washington as assistant professor, during the continued absence of Dr. Harold J. Noble; *Princeton University*, Virginius Dabney as lecturer; *Smith College*, Foster Rhea Dulles as visiting assistant professor; *Wellesley College*, Erna Patzelt of the University of Vienna as Mary Whiton Calkins visiting professor.

Announcement is made of the following promotions: *University of British Columbia*, Albert Colby Cooke to be associate professor; *Brothers College*, *Drew University*, F. Taylor Jones to be professor and A. Stanley Trickett to be assistant professor; *Brown University*, Robert H. George to be professor; *Central Y. M. C. A. College* (Chicago), Martin Weinbaum to be assistant professor; *Harvard University*, Paul H. Buck to be associate professor; *New York University*, Geoffrey Bruun to be professor, Wallace K. Ferguson to be associate professor, Ralph B. Flanders to be assistant professor; *Princeton University*, Raymond J. Sontag to be Henry Charles Lea Professor and chairman, Robert G. Albion to be professor, E. Harris Harbison and Charles P. Stacey to be assistant professors; *Smith College*, Ray Allen Billington to be associate professor; *Yale University*, George Wilson Pierson to be associate professor.

The following leaves of absence are noted: *Duke University*, Shelby T. McCloy, for the year, to pursue in France his studies of government relief in the eighteenth century; *State University of Iowa*, Harry Grant Plum, for the first semester, to carry on research in London; *Smith College*, Harold U. Faulkner, for the year.

The following Guggenheim fellowships have been awarded for research in historical subjects: O. Fritiof Ander, Augustana College, Sweden since 1815 (renewal); Karl R. Bopp, University of Missouri, a comparative study of the policies of the Bank of England, the Bank of France, the Reichsbank, and the Federal Reserve System; Elmer Ellis, University of Missouri, Finley Peter Dunne and his influence; Wallace K. Ferguson, New York University, histories and historical interpretations of the Renaissance written from the fifteenth century to the present; Leo Gershoy, Sarah Lawrence College, theories and policies of eighteenth century enlightened despots; Michael Ginsburg, University of Nebraska, the New Deal in ancient Rome; Richard Mansfield Haywood, The Johns Hopkins University, the municipal government of the cities in Roman Africa; Charles W. Jones, Cornell University,

European scientific manuscripts of the eighth to the twelfth century; Karl Loewenstein, Amherst College, the relationship of constitutional jurisprudence and government in modern dictatorships; Ernest C. Mossner, Syracuse University, life and works of David Hume; Gaines Post, University of Wisconsin, the papacy and learning in the later Middle Ages; Walter R. Sharp, the administration of international co-operative agencies in non-political fields; Lesley Byrd Simpson, University of California, social and economic structure of Mexico; Arthur McCandless Wilson, jr., Dartmouth College (recipient of the 1938 Herbert Baxter Adams Prize of the American Historical Association), biography of Diderot; Elmer Wood, University of Missouri, the policy of the Bank of England, 1847-1873.

Professor John Tate Lanning of Duke University has been appointed managing editor of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* to succeed the late James Alexander Robertson. Dr. Alan K. Manchester, also of Duke, has been appointed associate managing editor.

Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt has been appointed Andrew McLeish Distinguished Service Professor of Modern History in the University of Chicago.

Mrs. Roswell Skeel, jr., who is preparing a bibliography of Noah Webster, would be grateful for information regarding any unprinted letters or manuscripts relating to him, rare pamphlets, or addresses or prospectuses, especially if containing autograph notes or endorsements, and above all, odd and not easily found editions of his spelling book. Mrs. Skeel's address is in care of the Bankers Trust Company, 529 Fifth Avenue, New York City. She will be glad to pay for shipment to and from of loans, either by express or registered or insured post, which the New York Public Library will care for on delivery.

The College of William and Mary, now approaching its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary, has recently announced plans for a comprehensive and, as nearly as possible, definitive history of the college. The fortunes of war and the damages done by several fires have combined to make this an unusually difficult task. Many of the most vital official records are missing. The plan now announced calls first for an exhaustive search, extending over five to ten years and designed to locate and secure for use in writing the projected history all available records pertaining to the college. The aid of alumni and friends of the college and of members of the historical profession is earnestly solicited. Any information, however fragmentary, relating to the college and its place in the development of education in the South will be welcome. Communications should be addressed to Dr. E. G. Swem, librarian, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Professor Walther Rehm would be grateful for notices of manuscripts and especially of letters by J. J. Winckelmann which are to be found in this

country. Professor Rehm is preparing, with the support of the Prussian Academy of Science and the Archaeological Institute of Germany, a critical edition of the works and letters of Winckelmann. Communications may be directed to Professor Karl Viëtor, Harvard University.

Professor Clement Eaton, head of the department of history of Lafayette College, is the recipient of a \$1500 prize offered by Duke University Press for the best manuscript dealing with the social, literary, or artistic history of the United States submitted in a competition held in connection with the centennial celebration of the founding of the university. "Freedom of Thought in the Old South" is the title of Dr. Eaton's monograph, which is to be published in the near future.

Professor Benj. H. Pershing of Wittenberg College was awarded the prize of \$1000 offered by the Northwest Territory Sesquicentennial Commission for his essay, "The Ordinance of 1787: Its Operation and Influence in American History".

The Alexander Prize of the Royal Historical Society for the current year has been awarded to Hilda E. P. Grieve for her essay, "The Deprived Married Clergy in Essex, 1553-1561"; an essay by Joan M. Long entitled "Lord Granville and the Egyptian Question, 1881-82" was awarded the recognition of *proxime accessit*. Essays submitted in competition for the Alexander Prize next year must be sent in by February 28, 1940. For further particulars application should be made to the Secretary, Royal Historical Society, 96, Cheyne Walk, London, S. W. 10.

Students of history will find much to interest them in the Magna Carta Hall in the British Pavilion at the New York World's Fair. The chief attraction is the Lincoln Cathedral copy of Magna Carta, one of the four extant copies sealed with the great seal of King John. In addition to this are facsimiles of a charter of the city of Oxford (1190), writs of summons for a marquess and a bishop, a certificate of the returning officer for a member of parliament, the Petition of Right, the Habeas Corpus Act, the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement. There are also copies of prints from the British Museum showing parliament in the reigns of Edward I, Henry VIII, James I, George II, and William IV. Historians who wish to study these facsimiles in detail will find at the administration offices of the British Pavilion an album containing a complete duplicate set. G. T. Hankin, a vice-president of the English Historical Association, is available there to answer inquiries.

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